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The Family and Society

John M. Gillette

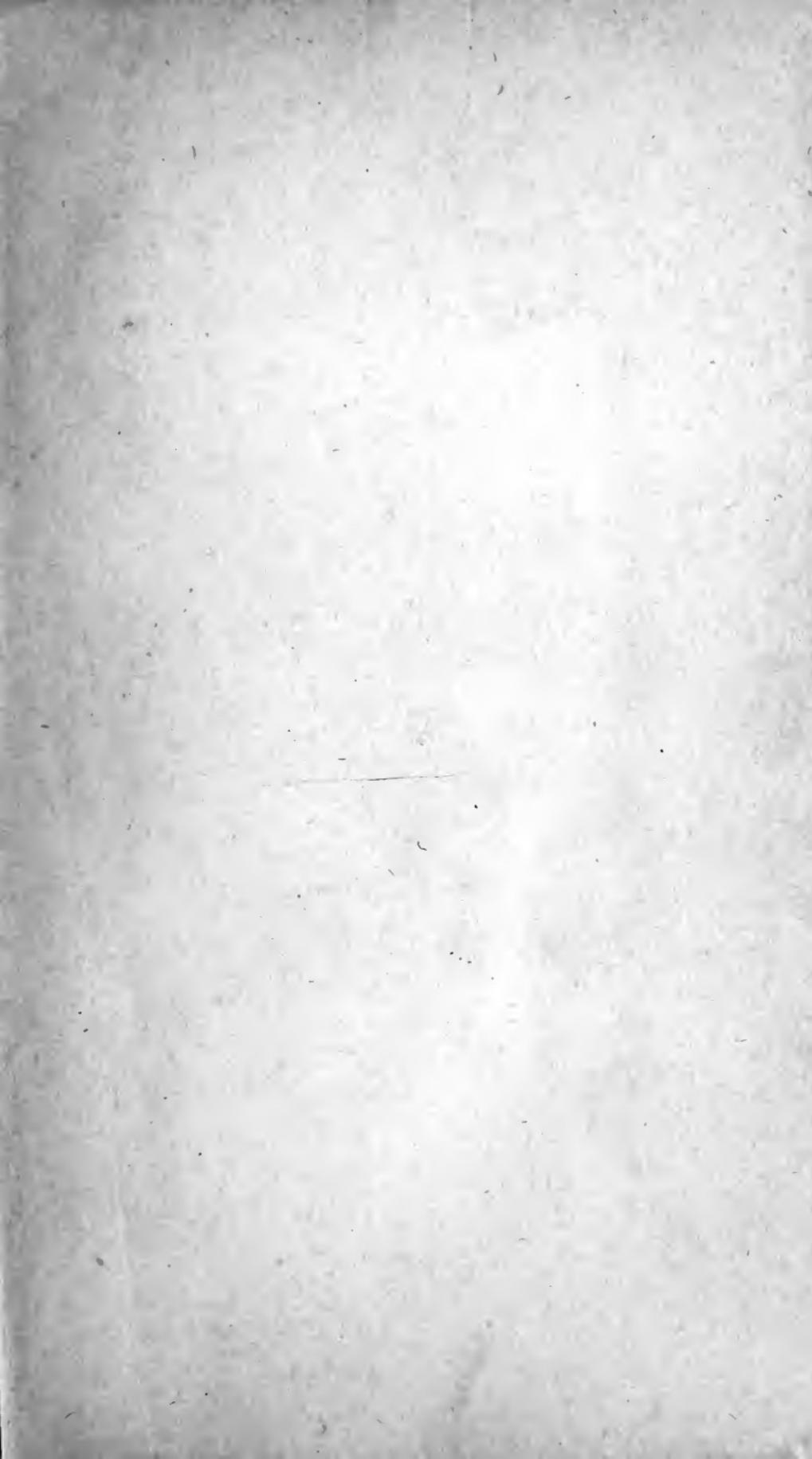


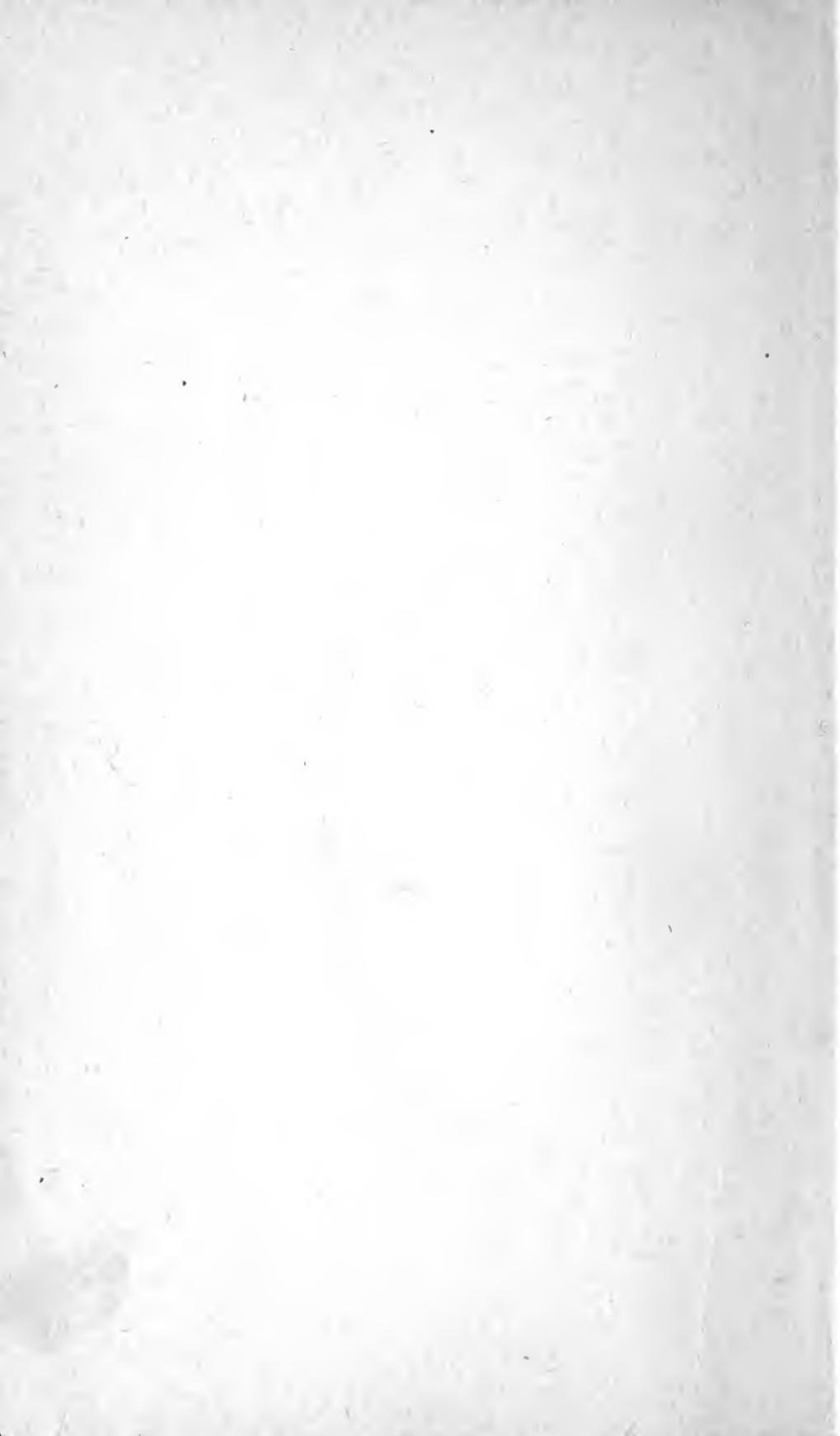
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THE Family and Society

B Y

John M. Gillette, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology in the University of North
Dakota; Author of "Vocational Education"
and "Constructive Rural Sociology"



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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE original arrangement of Dr. Gillette's book called for the placing of the third chapter as the first and then proceeding from the Biological Phases of Sex and Family to the Origin of Marriage, the Evolution of the Family, the Functions of the Family, and closing with Some Current Conditions Affecting the Family. The present arrangement of the table of contents brings first to the reader's attention the function which the family performs in a present day society, while the chapter on the Biological Phases of Sex and the Family is left for the last of the book. This chapter deals rather minutely with the origin of sex and its place in social relations; the justification for the appearance of the chapter in a book of this kind is to be found, if for no other reason, in the great interest in eugenics. Dr. Gillette has summarized in an interesting way the discussion on sex origin and in doing so has performed a service that will be appreciated by those following the trend of eugenic discussion.

F. L. M.



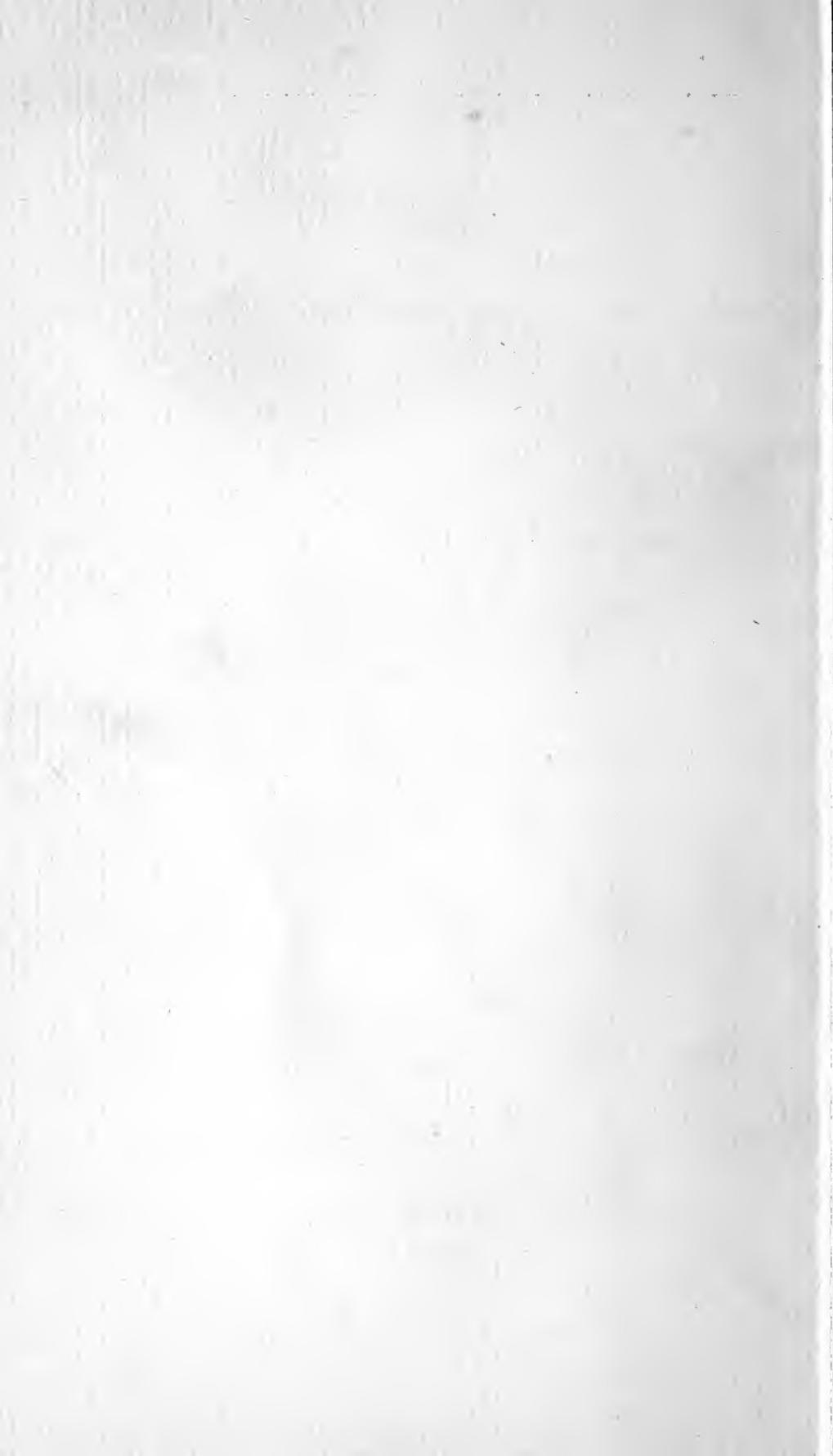
AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE large attention given the family in recent years has been deserved because of the antiquity of that institution, its comparatively original and self-sufficing character, and its ability to mirror and prepare for the larger collective life. No doubt the large place the social sciences occupy in today's affairs, the ethnological and sociological treatments of marriage and the family, and the *transformation* which changing social conditions have made in this domestic institution largely account for the increased attention.

The present book does not seek to be original in its treatment of the family. It does seek to be authoritative, in the sense that the author has consistently gone back to best authorities and original documents for his facts. The work, therefore, is not theoretical but factual. To the measure of the writer's ability, it represents a scientific interpretation of a large body of data. It is hoped that such a compendium and interpretation may find a useful place in the lives of busy men and women, and even prove to be an intelligent guide to students of the family in a larger study.

JOHN M. GILLETTE.

University of North Dakota.



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The Family and Society



The Family and Society

CHAPTER I

FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

EVERY human institution, by reason of the fact that it is a social institution, must be held responsible for the exercise of certain sociological functions. It is often supposed that institutions exist for themselves. It is not recognized that every such organization should be regarded as an agency through which men and society work to secure collective results, and that, therefore, its justification and test of efficiency reside in its community usefulness. In measuring the functions of the family it must submit to this test. It is consequently necessary to discover the sociological functions of the family in order to estimate its utility and how far it is a necessary institution. What is the family's relation to the larger social world? What services does it perform for society that society imperatively needs?

But while institutions exist for serving the larger community needs they also are the means

of giving satisfaction to individuals considered as human beings. Human beings, just because they are human beings, have a right to many satisfactions in life which conceivably do not immediately touch general social interests. In so far as those satisfactions do not interfere with collective interests, their attainment is legitimate. It may be found possible to regard the family as an institution that realizes the maximum of personal satisfaction to its members, without at the same time injuring the interests of the larger community. Such a consideration should find a place in treating the functions of the family.

1. Physical Reproduction of Society

The first general function of the family is the physical reproduction of society. First, in order that society should continue it is necessary that its constituent members should be replaced as they are eliminated. While society is a psychical fact it is nevertheless constituted of the inter-relations of minds which are connected with physical bodies. In a real sense it is true that society exists for the welfare of its constituent members. Viewed biologically the individual mind is a function of the body in the sense that it is an instrument for the better adjustment of the

organism to its more complex environment. Simple organisms have little need of mind because the environment is immediate and simple. But with growing complexity of surrounding conditions there is a concomitant demand for an agent that can sense things remote in time and space. While this is not the whole function of mind it is a very necessary duty. In like manner society and the social mind may be viewed as the necessary means by which the organisms of its constituent members are adjusted to a tremendously complicated situation. And while this does not tell the whole story of society it is an important item. In any event the bodies of human beings are essential to society, and it is necessary to replace them if society is to be perpetuated.

A constant and effective agency is required to perform this imperative function. During the evolution of sentient beings a great many devices have been tried to secure this end; reproduction by segmentation, by budding, and other methods among lowest forms of life; promiscuity among many animals; and the family in its several forms among human beings. And as we are to see, the monogamic family appears to have been worked out as the most serviceable method to secure the various results which the

family is required to bring about. Doubtless many individuals are produced by the method of promiscuity, but promiscuity must be viewed as an inadequate and irresponsible agency since it fails to create the type of men and women society demands. The parental factor and the home influences are essential elements even for the production of a physically valid stock. Even could society find a sufficient substitute for the home, promiscuity entails venereal diseases, close in-breeding, and other evils which produce a degenerate physical type of being.

Second, the family touches national life on its physical side. For one thing, it serves as a means of holding people in permanent relations with the land. The settled character of life has developed with the increment and definition of family functions. The adoption of a permanent mode of shelter and defense has tended to bind populations to a locality. The establishment of property as an institution and its perpetuation through the family have proved to be profound forces for securing the settlement and stability of aggregates of individuals. Were proof desired for this statement it would be sufficient to refer to the unsettled state of primitive peoples, and to the migrations of the barbarians of the North which eventuated in the overrunning of

Rome. Since an essential idea in the constitution of the state is a settled people within a defined territory, and since the family is the most universal and conspicuous method of holding a population to given areas and standards of living, the value of the latter in a national sense is evident.

For another thing, the family insures, with hardly any exception, a growing population. An increasing population has always been regarded as a national asset. Whether this will always be true is rather immaterial, as also would be the abstract discussion over whether or not it should be so.

Proceeding on the basis of facts, a large population is and has been a direct benefit to nations possessing it. Under similar conditions the nation that possesses the largest population is the strongest in a physical contest. Although there may be limits beyond which an increased population would render no further advantage in that direction, a large population gives the basis for an extensive division of labor and specialization and therefore makes possible a superior internal organization. While it is probably unfortunate, yet it is an undoubted fact, that population and wealth are signs of national reputability in much the same way that worldly

possessions enhance the importance of the individual in the community. With a given standard the nation with the largest population is most weighty in international matters, and looking into the future, as the world regards things now, the nation's future is probably the most secure a hundred years hence which promises the most numerous citizenship. Since promiscuity under present conditions would entail a high death rate among children, and debilitate the stock, that form of reproduction would offer little security for a nation's future. And since the monogamic family makes every man and woman available for reproductive purposes, prevents close inbreeding, reduces venereal diseases, both of which latter evils impair the physical type, and is conducive to saving infant life, it would appear to be the best means of securing a growing population.

Third, the family on its physical side has eugenic implications. Because it is the medium of replacing decadent members of society it bears the responsibility of affecting the inherent physical character of the stock. Persons who marry, because of their selective power relative to mates, determine whether the race shall become physically strong or weak. And since health and strength, that is, bodily validity, are the founda-

tion of individual and social mind, of social energy, and of the general welfare, it is of paramount importance that this function be well exercised. Society's interest in the matter is so fundamental that it should not do less than adopt all effective means for securing sound parents and preventing perilous marriages.

2. Sociological Reproduction

There are good reasons to believe that originally society was created by the family. Because the family was the first permanent social group and institution, and because of its reproductive functions, it not only preceded but produced other social institutions. At a later date, as in fact in every age, the form and quality of the family is a product of general conditions, but this does not invalidate the previous statement. While society now creates the family, the latter was primarily the creator of society. That it has always been capable of producing society will appear from the following considerations.

In a real sense the domestic institution is the archetype of society at large. As Leibnitz beheld the reflection of the universe in each of his monads, so likewise the family group is the society microcosm. While it is true that the rela-

tions of members of this group to each other are peculiar to this group only in that parenthood, childhood, fraternity, husband and wife bear their own special meanings, nevertheless the rudiments of the structures and functions of society at large are to be found in the family. It is not to be supposed that this is true just because the larger society expanded from the family, but rather because in the nature of things all social groups have to be founded on essentially the same principles. This is particularly true relative to division of labor between members. The principle of the division of labor with its consequent interdependence of active members is identical in the family and in all other social institutions.

Again, it is significant that all members of the family group issue into the social life at large, carrying with them the impress of the family; and that all persons who establish families come in from the larger world bringing the more generalized impress of society to bear on the developing of offspring. Thus there is a constant give and take, a passing back and forth between the general and special group. It is obviously necessary that the groups should be similar, otherwise the inter-migration would prove disastrous. The parents bring in a larger culture from the world outside which the off-

spring imitate and assimilate. Sometimes exceptionally talented parents create a culture higher than the general standard of the community, which the children of the particular home absorb. In either case children find in the home their initial equipment for contact with the world. Moreover, at all times there is a give and take between the family and the world. Consequently it is inevitable that each shall be influenced by the other and it likewise follows that the less shall be forced to make the larger response.

That there may be no doubt that the family is the incubator of social members, it is expedient to pass in review its early institutional features. First, it possesses a division of labor which is necessary to its existence and which trains the young for that of the larger community. Between man and wife this obtains principally. The husband is the bread winner, the wife the home maker. As the offspring develop, they are introduced to certain duties in the household economy. The boys build fires, get fuel, bring water, and care for many small matters that the father formerly looked after. If the home is on the farm, various kinds of light work fall to the boy also. Caring for horses, cattle, hogs, and poultry are essential features. Unfortunately, in cities there is little for the boy

to do at home and he consequently misses an essential part of his training and development. But in many occupations, the boys gravitate into the occupation of the father and begin to work with him early in life. The girls likewise assist the mother in her household duties as they get old enough, and the technique of housekeeping and care of children is thus obtained by them. Not only do the children obtain an idea of division of labor in the home but learn to co-operate, to bear and share responsibility; and what is of great importance, they get a discipline, a habit of industry which is necessary for productive citizenship.

Second, family life epitomises the great economic activities of society in that it involves production, distribution, and consumption of wealth. That it consumes wealth in the articles and foods it uses is obvious. Its productive activity may consist of the produce raised on the farm, the foods and clothes worked up into consumptive form in the home itself, or be represented by the income gained from the occupations of members of the family. The income may be shared on a fair and open basis or very unequally, as in society generally. Unfair family distribution may be accepted passively or resented and so become a cause of family dis-

memberment. Fortunate are the children and wise the parents of the family in which justice and equity in sharing the income obtains. Further, a large item in preparing children for life is their training in using and caring for some share of the income, though it may be small.

Third, the governmental institutions of society have their prototype in the family. The family has its head and executive in father or mother, its laws which are laid down by the parents in rules of action, its common law in the family customs and common consent, its court of justice as infractions of law and custom are judged, its penal and reformatory phases in the treatment accorded offenders, its public opinion which affects its legislative, administrative, and judicial activities. Further, it may make budgets so as to keep within its income and have a sinking fund for emergencies. Thus the children in the home are made acquainted with the essentials of governmental functions and are able to appreciate the simpler aspects of the state when they meet it as citizens. One of the conspicuous truths arising from the study of criminals is that ruthless, loose, and unfair family governments have far reaching effects towards making anti-social individuals. The converse is also true, namely, that a well governed and conducted family pro-

motes the socialization of the offspring in a most effective manner.

Fourth, education is begun in the family. Indeed, the most important educative period takes place in the home. The perceptive period of childhood covers the first few years of life. In those years the normal child is hungry to know objects and their qualities and the larger part of this kind of knowledge of the world is obtained then. The intelligent parent is of utmost assistance to the child in this and in all learning directions. The child's first information comes from its parents and it is dependent on them for years as its chief authoritative informants. Since wide and exact information plays so large a part in the modern world, it is essential that this acquisitive period should be stimulated and developed in every good way. "Dull pupils" are quite largely the product of dull homes. The home that is backward in conversation, books and papers, story telling, and efforts to open up the child's imagination can not give the stimulus that the development of intelligence requires. Where the parents pay no attention to books and papers and carry on no discussions, it is rare that the children establish a reading habit. Large items in the education of individuals are those of sanitation, health, and sex hygiene. The

home that carefully attends to these matters exercises a beneficent influence on the future career of its children, and a profound effect on the world. Much of the deficit in the health and strength of mature men and women is due to the neglect of childhood. The parents who maintain healthful conditions in the home and teach the young by example and rational training to care for themselves properly, are indeed social benefactors. As in other matters a good habit established early is better than much teaching and lecturing later. Especially in sex matters the home is the most suitable educator. Intelligent and sympathetic parents are better able to explain the mysteries, functions, and responsibilities of reproduction to their offspring than any outside parties. Much of the vice of the times is traceable to ignorance, false modesty, and neglect on the part of fathers and mothers. In too many cases the influence and example of the parents is not only negative but conduces to creating vicious careers.

Moral training is an essential factor in education and is a vital affair of the family. Genuine ethical training is best given in the home. Language, mathematics, sciences of all kinds may be taught more efficiently by institutions of learning. But society trains but rudely in morals. It

recognizes only the gross and outward sins; it punishes harshly and unsympathetically. "The fundamental conception of a true self-assertion and a genuine self-sacrifice" are learned only in the family. In it "the strong learn to respect the weaker, the weak are encouraged to develop their strength by using it, under the influence of family love. The absoluteness of duty, and the true excellence of virtue, can be learned only in the family. Only a parent can say 'thou shalt;' and compel hearty obedience by the power of an overmastering love." It is a most difficult task to inculcate duty and disciplined obedience in adults who have never learned them in the home. Loyal citizens of the state are made by sympathetic yet firm parental control. The home is the best generator of civic sentiments and virtues. It promotes the development of loyalty and patriotism since the fatherland is the extension of the home. The self-sacrifice and devotion that are demanded in the larger community life are born and nourished in the family. The qualities of personality which society so highly appreciates, those delicate excellencies of honor, tact, and sympathy, are learned outside the home only by the rarest experience, but seldom at all.

The life of the family is highly conducive to the development of the moral life of the parent.

The establishment of a home and family creates a new sense of responsibility and develops powers hitherto rudimentary. It brings into play the moral power of self-sacrifice, of living and striving for the group, so little developed in single persons. It enhances and promotes the ideal in life and puts a premium on self-subordination and discipline to realize that ideal.

Fifth, in matters of religion, the life of the family plays an essential role in one way or another. Religion is less an affair of birth than of cultivation. While the child that does not secure its religious ideas in the home may later become religious, its religion is likely to be less deep and more artificial than in the case of the child who develops in the midst of a religious atmosphere. Until civilized times the family was closely bound up with worship, and if the larger society was religious it was because the home life was intensely such. Modern religion has become less superstitious and more ethical. Science and the sceptical attitude is more general. The church is generally divorced from the state. While society now is not religious in form it possesses a religious structure, the church, which fosters religion in the home and serves as the religious nexus between the home and society at large. No doubt a truly ethical religious atmos-

phere in the average home would be influential in making better citizens.

Sixth, the home touches the larger world by its attitude relative to recreation and beauty. Whether the tastes of the young shall be developed or undeveloped, high or low, depends more on what the home presents and encourages than on any other factor. Cleanliness, order, taste in arrangement, comeliness of house and grounds, are conditions that mould the soul of the child in its daily reactions and development. In like manner the attitude and tastes of the parents relative to what sports and forms of recreation are suitable give a direction to the lives of the children. Since games, sports, and recreation constitute such a vital part in the life of the world, are agencies which befoul or purify it, it follows that fathers and mothers have a very large responsibility in moulding the appetites and directing the recreational activities of their offspring.

3. Relation of Family to Society

We have seen how profoundly the family contributes to the larger social life in exercising its function of socializing the young individuals. What is to be discussed here might have been developed there, since what is to be said still

concerns the development of the offspring. However, the point of emphasis in discussing sociological reproduction was the function of the family in preparing its offspring to lead a social life, in socializing, humanizing, personalizing them. The emphasis now is to be on society itself rather than on the offspring. In what fundamental ways is society affected by the life and work of the domestic institution?

First, how far is the family an independent social group, and in what sense, if at all, is it the social unit? In discussions of the family it is frequently asserted that that group is self-sufficing and that it is the only group that is. This was true of the family in patriarchal times because at that time it was society. A family group was a society, and although many such groups may have sustained loose relations to a larger governmental order, the essential functions and activities of a society were carried on in the patriarchal institution. In almost an exclusive sense it was self-sufficing. Had there been no other groups, no larger governmental organization, which often was the case, it could reproduce its members and prosecute the sustaining and regulating activities necessary to group existence. Even in later times, as seen in the case of frontier life in America before the industrial era,

the family was self-sustaining, and in connection with other families, self-protecting. However, conditions have changed. Under a highly industrialized, specialized, interdependently functioning complex of social structures, the family is quite dependent on the larger community for its life and prosperity. This is obviously true in urban communities. But it is almost as true for rural regions. In relatively few cases could the farm family support itself apart from society at large. The produce of the farm is not raised for home consumption, but is disposed of in distant markets. The grain must be sent away to be ground into flour and meal so that bread may be made. The clothes, groceries, implements are manufactured in factories and sold to farmers. Education is a community affair. The government builds roads, bridges, school-houses, and performs other useful and necessary services. Were the farm family reduced to a self-sufficing basis, civilization would move backward a century and the nation would suffer a large depopulation. The urban family is directly and immediately dependent on society at large for its sustenance, education, conveniences, and protection in many ways.

We must conclude that the family is not a self-sufficing, independent institution but that it

is grounded on the existence and welfare of the larger social order.

The uncritical statement is often made that the family is the social unit. Since there are many kinds of social units the family can not be *the* social unit. The United States census gives statistics of the population of the nation by families, to be sure. But it also does the same by individuals, by races, by nationalities; by sex, age, and so on. For most statistical purposes the individual is the unit of society. The same is true for most economic and sociological considerations. The point is made that since society may be resolved into families which alone of the many social factors are capable of self-reproduction it alone is the true unit. Were society eliminated by a great catastrophe, most of the population destroyed, the ideas of achievement lost so that the race had to begin afresh, the family would doubtless be the starting place in the process of reconstruction. Individuals would not be self-reproducing. But such a situation is unthinkable. As we have seen, taking society as it is today, the family is not self-sufficing and independent, and consequently possesses practically no claim to being the exclusive social unit.

Second, the family institution is a part of the

mechanism of society by which the social order is perpetuated. It is said that the universe is orderly because its various systems of suns, planets, and nebulae preserve relatively the same relations to each other in their movements and rotations. Were our solar system to vary incalculably or were a nebula to tear across the universe in an irresponsible manner, were things to act chaotically and without regular relations to each other, there would be no universe, no order. In like manner there is said to be a social order because the various organizations, institutions, customs, ideas, which constitute society remain comparatively fixed and orderly relative to each other. A relatively stable and fixed social order is not only a great convenience but a prime necessity for purposes of conducting the affairs of life. If we are to carry any plan or pursuit to a successful end it is requisite that the future conditions involved in the enterprise shall be known. That means that they shall be fixed and orderly so that they may be understood. While society does undergo transformations from time to time, while evolution and progress are desirable, nevertheless pursuits and happiness in life demand a large amount of social stability.

Sociologists have worked out a doctrine of the social order and of progress. Progress comes

by reason of gradual changes introduced into society which are chiefly caused by the inventions and achievements, the new ideas, which are contributed by men and women of talent; providing always that these changes advance the common welfare. On the other hand, the social order is maintained by reason of a kind of social inertia. The mass of men are imitative, not creative. New ideas do not reach them in childhood when the mass of ideas are established. The ideas that have been handed down from time immemorial through successive generations constitute the common stock of mental pabulum. Tradition acts as a long leading string that binds the present to the past. Custom constitutes a great mould which, like the basket used by the Chinook Indians to deform the heads of their infants, presses upon the mind of every child. Conventionality weaves its web about the minds of the new generation. Imitation plays like a shuttle through them all. Hence the generation growing up becomes like that which surrounds it. The old order changes slowly, if it changes at all. Those that desire a new order are able to reach the mass of citizens but slightly. Hence progress is not catastrophic.

This brief exposition enables us to see how the family enters into the situation. It takes

the young in the great imitative period of life when they are most plastic and impresses upon them the stock of ideas which the parents received from their parents in turn and which have been but little modified by their larger contact and experience with the world. For the mass of people life consists more of habitual movements organized into activities than it does of ideas. Modes of doing things: keeping house, sweeping, dusting, bread-making, preserving fruits, caring for children, going to church, disposal of leisure time, home manners, attitude towards wife and children, outlook on life and the world, and multitudes of other activities and attitudes constitute the larger side of life of the masses. These are learned and perpetuated by home influences. In modern times the press, theater, education, and other agencies have entered into the situation to counteract the conservative influence of the home. Before their time society moved forward but little because of the dominating influence of the two great conservative agencies, the family and the church. In religion, sociability forms, and in the transfer of property in the line of descent, the family is a conspicuous example of conservation, sometimes of reaction. It is likewise a conservative medium for the transmission of ethical doctrines and of sentiments.

Third, the family as family appears to touch the matter of social progress but little, save on the assimilative side. Yet there are certain aspects of progress in which the domestic institution may have a part. As in biological matters variation is the basis of evolution, new kinds of plants and animals which are better adapted to live being initiators of new varieties or at least making advances in the stock of forms; so in society beneficial changes are instigated by individual and societal variations. A better physical stock of men is conducive to the improvement of society and serves as the basis of creating a higher order of intellectual activity. Since genius is so closely bound up with body and brain we must expect an improved stock of people to give rise to a larger share of potential talent. It is the business of society to see that this born genius becomes matured and fruitful. But the family by careful selection in mating may act as a promoter of progress relative to securing a better physical stock.

We have seen that progress is secured by the changes which ensue by the adoption on the part of society of the contributions of its men of talent and genius. These inventions are not only material, as the locomotive, harvester, telegraph, printing press; but take the form of

books, scientific discoveries, legislation, literature, art, plans, and organization for social amelioration. Doubtless many men of real genius lie undiscovered in backward communities and dull homes. Had the same individuals been born and reared in the enlightened and stimulating atmosphere of cultured homes they would have had the opportunities of becoming productive. It is here that the home has a chance to make its contribution to social progress by placing intellectual opportunities before the child or placing the child in contact with the opportunities of intellectual quickening. It may be in nature study, in mechanics, invention, literature, music; but the opportunity to self-discovery is what is needed. The development of a public school system has taken a part of the responsibility off the family. But alert, resourceful, devoted parents will always have an exceptional work to do in stimulating and awakening the minds of the children in their earlier years.

But since progress is more than mere social change, since it is essentially those changes which advance the welfare of the masses of citizens, the ethical sentiments are involved in it. Society often flounders through a period of profound changes by reason of the introduction of new factors when it cannot be said that it is making

progress because the fruits of the new creations are being appropriated by a few shrewd and selfish individuals. Moreover, a nation may send out its armies in a ruthless war because of false sentiments. Could the social outlook be given, could individuals be ethically socialized, the promoters of great undertakings would share their benefits with the mass of men who contribute to their success and the citizenship of a nation would insist on international justice, rather than on revenge and exploitation. The foundations of the ethics of life are laid in the life of the family. Selfish and militant parents impose their views on the growing children who carry the view into practice. Conversely, altruistic and societary minded parents fortunately have the power of giving a regard for the rights of fellow beings, an interest in social evolution and the future of mankind, a love of justice in its larger sense, that will truly contribute to building a better world.

4. The Family in Relation to Parents

So far the family has been viewed as an institution existing for the physical and social reproduction of human beings, with some attention having been paid to its relation to the larger societary world. When considered relative to the

working of the larger economy of the biological and sociological fields, the family institution undoubtedly bears the aspect of being chiefly a reproductive agency. But when the subjective rather than the functional aspect is attended to other factors come to light. For mating and marriage never would have taken place among higher forms of life had not the sex instinct resided in the pairing organisms. The instinct to mate carries with it the pain and pleasure inherent to the most intense form of desire within the bounds of knowledge. The satisfaction of that desire must be regarded as the strongest and most influential of all the social forces. It has produced not only great individual efforts but has spurred into the fight masses of men who otherwise would have remained inert.

Again, there is some justification for saying that the parents have certain rights in the family. Fortunately, among civilized men the time is past when the doctrine that the end of mankind is to multiply and replenish the earth, that child bearing is the sole object of woman's existence, is regarded as sacred. When that teaching prevailed the wife had little respite during the reproductive period and she was aged and worn out by the time its end was reached. While many parents need to be taught their larger

responsibilities for their children the average parent does not desire to shirk the parental duties and most parents wear themselves out by the use of wrong and backward methods of training and discipline. The adoption of enlightened methods would reduce the arduousness of rearing a family. The right of parents to some leisure and to some relief from the incessant care of children needs to accompany the insistence on the performance of their full responsibilities. Perhaps this right will not be realized until the community makes child life safe by means of play associations so that children may be permitted to leave the confines of the home at times. Spencer makes the profound generalization that "in proportion as organisms become higher they are individually less sacrificed to the maintenance of the species; and the implication is that in the highest type of man this sacrifice falls to the minimum." He further points out how this decreasing subordination of parents to the species is brought about. "First, by the elongation of that period which precedes reproduction; second, by decrease in the number of offspring borne, as well as by increase of the pleasures taken in the care of them; and third, by lengthening of the life which follows cessation of reproduction." This has been the

tendency during the whole course of animal and human evolution. Doubtless something remains to be accomplished toward increasing the pleasures of parents in child rearing.

The right to be taken care of when they are aged and worn is a right of parents. Society has moved forward tremendously in this since savage times. Old men and women then were cast aside by neglect, or because sustenance was difficult to secure the policy was forced on primitive groups of abandoning or putting to death old people. Among certain African people the father would ask the favorite son to end his days, since the miseries incident to old age were too great to bear. That there is need for enforcing on the minds of the young their duties toward making the last days of their parents comfortable and of administering cheer to them then is observed from the fact that many parents are allowed to become paupers whose children are well able to support them. It is noticed that there is a great difference among immigrant nationalities in the United States in this respect, certain nationalities showing little affection for their old people and being quite willing that the state should assume their support. By means of old age pensions the state now promises to

ameliorate the conditions under which the declining days of its old workers are spent.

5. *Summary*

Summarizing this chapter we are enabled to recall the following ideas. Since the family is a social institution it should produce those results for which its peculiar nature calls. It is found by experience that the monogamic family is the best agency to renew society by the constant creation of new physical members. It conserves childhood, averts close inbreeding, avoids venereal diseases which promiscuity brings, and thus begets a good physical stock. The family promotes national life by securing a settled life and by yielding a growing population.

In addition to reproducing society physically, the family reproduces society spiritually by socializing the young. Social beings are not born, they are developed. The old philosophical puzzle, Why are men's minds alike? receives its answer in the simple teaching that from initial society parents have absorbed the ideas of society at large, have conveyed them to the minds, and impressed them on the children. Since the principles at the basis of the family and of society generally are much the same, training in the home lays the foundation for

participating in and understanding the larger world. Thus, where the family is not abnormal or backward, we find in the home a division of labor, the various economic activities, the beginnings and rudiments of government, of education, and the inculcation of morals, and love of order and beauty.

If the family prepares for society generally, it might be supposed that it profoundly affects society. It does this in making good or bad citizens. In another way it affects social progress, in so far as it produces men and women of achievement. But for the most part the family, like the church, is a conserving, rather than a dynamic, institution.

It is a mistake to suppose that the family is an independent, self-sufficing institution, because it is related to society in general in so many obvious ways, and because the progress of a hundred years would be destroyed did one revert to the condition of independent families. Neither is the family the social unit in any exclusive sense. It is one among a number of social units. For most scientific purposes the individual serves as the social unit.

The family is an asylum for the man and woman who have married where a division of labor between them obtains, and where ministrations

tions of affection and companionship occur. While they, as parents, have a large measure of responsibility and duties relative to their offspring, they also have rights as parents and as human beings. They are morally bound to succor and train their children. On the other hand, the offspring are morally bound to succor and care for the parents in their years of decline.

CHAPTER II

ORIGIN OF MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE is commonly regarded as the form or convention by which a man and woman are made husband and wife. Because, however, this ceremony, or some such more or less formal act, initiates a relationship between the two parties which continues for a longer or shorter time, and that most often brings to the pair dependent offspring, the term marriage is frequently used to cover the matrimonial institution. But since the pairing of male and female for purposes of reproduction might not result in what we today think of as the family, and which, nevertheless, actually leads up to or initiates the family, it is proper to avoid the use of the latter term and employ that of marriage in discussing the origin of the marital institution.

It will doubtless prove useful to give the term marriage a somewhat concise meaning, otherwise the impossibility of definitely locating the origin of the institution is obvious. It immediately becomes evident that we cannot transfer our modern meaning back to primitive times. Should

we do so we would be embarrassed by the discovery of many marital forms which could not be embraced in, or would be incongruous with, our conception. Our conception would be too rich and manifold in its elements to fit the narrow situation. This is generally true in the hunt for origins. In treating the evolution of religion it has been found necessary to define religion in the simplest terms, to strip off the rich efflorescence of later times, so that the definition may serve to describe and designate the highest, most developed form of religion, as well as the lowest and poorest. In that case and in the present one it is necessary to find the irreducible minimum, to reduce our conception to its lowest terms.

Westermarck says that most of the definitions which are given of marriage are of a juridical or ethical nature, "comprehending either what is required to make the union legal, or what, in the eye of an idealist, the union ought to be." Evidently such definitions are unfit for our present purpose. The writer mentioned has given what is perhaps the simplest definition, one on which it would be difficult to improve. He says: "From a scientific point of view, I think there is but one definition which may claim to be generally admitted, that, namely, according to which

marriage is nothing else than a more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring." This is wide enough to include all sex relations which may be called marriage, and narrow enough to exclude merely promiscuous relations. Because of its adequacy this meaning will be employed.

1. Marriage Among Animals

The problem of the origin of marriage concerns itself not alone with the history of matrimonial institutions among men. At least the treatment accorded it by numerous writers would indicate this. Herbert Spencer, Letourneau, Westermarck, Howard, and others begin their studies of marriage by a survey of sex relations in the animal series below man. It is conceived that the biological conditions out of which human institutions arose are rooted in the evolving animal world. Further, it is thought that the beginnings of the human institution of marriage might be discovered there. The first supposition is doubtless well founded. Man has so many appetites, instincts, mental traits, and bodily structures that are also common to animals, and which are explicable only by supposing that the former grew out of the latter, that we should expect

to find the biological conditions which regulate sex matters coming down to us from the past. The latter supposition does not rest on the same necessity. For marriage is much more likely to be a social arrangement, an affair into which the element of rational agreement enters to a considerable extent. Consequently, there is far less probability that it occurs among animals than that the biological conditions regulating sex matters among men arose there and have continued to operate with something of their former force.

Westermarck has amply proved that pairing of a somewhat permanent nature frequently occurs among birds and beasts. Among birds especially, the bond between male and female during the "mating season" is so strong and undisturbed by infidelity that a certain writer remarks that the only genuine marriage is found among them. In the lowest form of life parentage is unknown, sex not having appeared. When it does arise the early parents are not concerned with the offspring. Eventually, however, the mother develops solicitude for the young, and with the extension of the span of life and also of infancy of the young, this maternal attention increases. Occasionally the male parent of a species exhibits some consideration for the

offspring by participating in feeding and caring for it. More frequently the mother fights the family battle alone.

Did it suffice to consider that one parent in charge of the offspring constituted the family, there could be no question but that that institution begins among animals. But the continuance of the male with the female until after the young are born, except among birds, is rather exceptional. It is notorious that among our domestic animals the mother alone cares for the offspring. The function of the male is completed in the process of fertilization. As we defined marriage, that institution exists only in exceptional cases among animals exclusive of the anthropoidea and birds.

Relative to birds, while it must be said that they show an almost universal seasonal pairing, a fidelity lasting from nesting, or nest-building, to the flying of the fledglings, the fact is rather inconsequential for the question of human marriage. Men did not descend from birds. Consequently anything birds practiced could have had but very slight influence on human action. Men may have imitated birds in certain particulars, as ethnology shows, but those imitations exhausted themselves on matters of decoration and armor. The matrimonial institution is too fun-

damental a social affair to be much subject to imitation of bird practice. In default of a biological and a sociological continuity between men and birds it is obvious that the pairing of birds is irrelevant to the question of human marriage.

The question of the life and practices of the apes is far more important. Man is not a direct descendant of the apes but rather from a stock of animals which sprung from a stem common to human beings and the apes. The practices of this ancestral stock were doubtless closely akin to those of the apes. Consequently the life of apes reflects that of man's pre-human ancestors. Darwin believed that apes led a social life. Beddard states that baboons "live in herds," and recent African hunters describe the human-like antics and collective actions of these creatures. Beddard says of the gorilla that it "goes about in families, with but one adult male, who later has to dispute his position as leader of the band with another male, whom he kills or drives away, or by whom he is killed or driven away. The animal is said to make a nest in a tree like the orang, but this statement has been questioned." (*Mammalia*, pp. 566 and 576.) Flower and Lydekker also affirm that the gorilla "lives in family parties." It is far more frugivorous than

the orang, which shows a strong liking for animal food. It is evident that the gibbon lives in packs, from the fact that in making its double, human-like call, which is one of the most common forest sounds, "several join in the cry, like hounds giving the tongue." This animal is largely vegetarian, though it is fond of spiders, insects, bird's eggs, and even birds themselves. As to the chimpanzees, they "are essentially forest dwellers, and are more arboreal in their habits than the gorilla. They live either in families, or in small parties of several families. Frequently, at least, they construct a kind of nest in the trees as a sleeping place; the male being said to sleep on a forked branch below the level of this nest." (*Flower and Lydekker, Mammals, Living and Extinct*, pp. 730-736.)

Westermarck reviews evidence gleaned from the works of several observers relative to the gorilla, orang-outang, and chimpanzee, and concludes that for most part they lead a solitary life, existing in small groups with a male at the head, in pairs, or sometimes wandering alone. He further finds that they have a rutting, or pairing, season, at which time the males battle with each other for supremacy. He holds the belief, too confidently I think, in view of the

slender evidence, that simple pairing, or monogamy, obtains among them. Letourneau, on the other hand, thinks that apes are often gregarious and sometimes monogamous, sometimes polygynous,* more often the latter. The logic of the whole situation recommends his position as the correct one.

Among the lower forms of life there is one interesting fact for a sociological study of the family. While the family instinct is widespread among animals, among ants, bees, and termites it has apparently been distributed over the whole group. There is no family among those groups. The queen is fertilized by one or more of the drones, who then die or are dispatched. The queen is a mere egg producer. The mothering of the young is performed by the workers, who are neither fathers nor mothers, but who yet possess a nursing instinct and a group altruism which are effective. In these cases a complicated social organism exists without a family institution. Hence, here at least, the family is not the social unit.

*In this volume polygyny and polygynous are used instead of the popular terms polygamy and polygamous. According to the meaning of the original roots from which the words are derived, gama means marriage while gynos means woman. Hence polygamy denotes pluralistic marriage while polygyny signifies plural wives.—EDITOR.

2. The Earliest Human Sex Relation

When we ascend to the human stage of evolution a most complicated situation exists relative to marriage. First, it is difficult to ascertain the exact family conditions of primitive men who now exist or have recently existed. Second, how much force toward settling the question of earliest human marriage shall be accorded to the scant beginnings of marriage among man's animal ancestors? This second question is complicated by the fact that a great gulf exists between present primitive man and the highest existing animal species. Prehistoric man, man from his origin up to the stage of culture represented by present primitive man, fills, by a rough estimate, a period of time amounting to 450,000 years. Beyond the first prehistoric man extends another extensive period until man's animal ancestors, the cousins of the anthropoid apes, are reached.

Many theories have been developed as to the relation of the sexes among primitive men. First, the theory of promiscuity, the belief that males and females paired temporarily and without regard to relations of kinship. Second, the patriarchal theory, the doctrine which holds that the primordial group consisted of the eldest valid male parent, all agnatic descendants and adopted

persons, together with slaves, clients, and other dependents, organized under the despotic authority of the eldest male, the patriarch. Third, the theory of original monogamy. Fourth, the theory that various forms of marriage existed from the first, with monogamy the predominant form. Fifth, the theory that the various kinds of marriage groups—polyandric, polygynic, and monogamic—appeared from the beginning, according to circumstances, but that monogamy was rather the exception. Bachofen, Morgan, Lubbock, Engles, and others have defended the first theory; Maine and his school, the second; probably the majority of civilized people have held the third; Letourneau, Westermarck, and others, the fourth; Herbert Spencer holds the fifth for present primitive men, with suggestions of prior promiscuity.

Our concern just now is as to whether any form of marriage existed at first, or whether the condition of sexual promiscuity prevailed among primitive men. In the nature of the case only the larger aspects of the problem can be considered in this small volume.

To settle the question it has been necessary to compile the facts from the works of first hand observers of practically all existing primitive peoples. This has been done by Spencer, Letour-

neau, and later by Westermarck. Competent students of the subject generally concede that these and other authorities have demonstrated that there is no such thing as a general stage of promiscuity among the primitive groups visited and studied by civilized man. Herbert Spencer, however, intimates that the loose and easy marital and sex relations among those groups indicate a prior stage of promiscuity. In this latter opinion the American Morgan coincides, but for a different reason. Letourneau, at times, shows symptoms of believing in primordial promiscuity.

The situation as far back in social evolution as we have actual evidence concerning sex relations appears to be this: Primitive society, as we know it, is characterized by a pluralistic form of marriage, polyandric in some cases, polygynic in others, sometimes both polyandric and polygynic, with the frequent occurrence of monogamy.

What shall be said of the long interim of probably hundreds of thousands of years which stretch beyond our primitive man to the original human beings? Archeology has demonstrated that there were still lower culture stages than that possessed by present primitive men, and it has discovered two or more lower levels of men

in physical type. It is apparent that Westermarck's evidence does not touch this period, save in so far as his generalizations from animal life may obtain. But as we saw, the evidence as to what actually the sex relations among apes are is too meager to establish anything to a certainty. Further, we cannot know what effect developing reason and the entrance of other factors would have on marital relations in the subsequent beings.

Let us consider the various possibilities and factors in the situation. First, the bearing of the idea of continuity. We might expect an evolution toward some kind of marriage, should we follow the analogy of the development of other social institutions and of mental and bodily structures. We find animal bodily structures far more similar than dis-similar to those of man. Although but few of the "missing links" have been discovered, we hold to continuity of physical forms. Similarly animals possess most of man's instincts, the special sensory apparatus, sensations, perceptions, and a degree of generalizing and reasoning power. We believe in a mental continuity. Animals have a language of signs and sounds. Primitive man possesses these in a higher degree of development. Linguistic continuity is most probable. If we find some

'beginnings of marriage among the animals which most approximate man it would be natural to suppose that further evolution has occurred during the development of the series. Great marital development during that interim should not be expected, however, because the changes, at that stage of evolution, in relations between individuals was necessarily slow, as we know from a study of social phenomena among both animals and men. In fact it is conceivable that conditions arose which blocked actual progress and even compelled regression. For example, the rational factor grew stronger. What would be its effect on a marriage that was based on instinct exclusively? Would it increase the male's tendency toward maintaining a marital horde? Or would it lead the male in the direction of a solitary life in which he could exercise his cunning and strength in hunting and fighting?

Second, the question as to whether apes were solitary or gregarious and its bearing on the nature of the sex relations. Our previous treatment of this established a strong probability of dominant gregariousness and of polygynous grouping.

Third, infancy is prolonged among the anthropoids and doubtless still more prolonged among the first men. This prolongation of in-

fancy imposes a prolongation of parental care. In itself, however, it does not pronounce that this increased attention is paternal in part. Other considerations are required to decide that. A smaller number of offspring and an increase of their dependence accompanies the prolongation of infancy, making it probable that the mother would at times be the center of a group of growing children. The force of this condition is in the direction of a family, or horde, life.

Fourth, evolution from the animal to the human stage brings not only the erect attitude of body but its more important accompaniment, a heightened and enlarged psychical life. It is impossible to say what the exact effects of this enlarged psychical life would be on sex relations, but certain results are probable. The growth of rational power made early man superior to the animals. He could operate against them, lay snares and traps for them, use weapons to overcome them. This undoubtedly had much to do with changing early man or his near ancestors from a frugivorous to a carnivorous diet. In this connection woman would be rendered more dependent. So long as she could forage for food she could support herself and her dependent offspring. But where the inhabitants of a

region became numerous and the larger part of the food had to be obtained by the chase, she was incapacitated for this during the period of rearing and nursing the child. Had not males become capable of developing a somewhat permanent attachment for the female and offspring she and her children in many cases would perish. The only alternative to this would be the existence of a relatively large communal group of which the mother constituted a member and received her support at critical times. But this also supposes a group attachment on the part of the males, an outcome in turn of the larger psychical nature.

A strengthening of the psychical attribute of jealousy in the males might be conceived to take place with evolution. Since the time of Darwin the "law of battle" has been recognized as obtaining among the males of the more highly developed animals. Fighting for females at pairing time quite generally obtains. The man-like apes enter into conflict for the mastery of females. Psychologically it is true that during the process of marital evolution the emotional life has been broadened and deepened. Civilized man not only experiences more emotions but is able to respond to any one of them more profoundly than undeveloped men. The

emotional reaction we call jealousy comes under this general rule. Jealousy developed among animals with the evolution of higher forms, and it likely grew apace during the ascent from apes to man. Had early men an annual pairing season, as Westermarck believes, this jealousy would operate only on those occasions, as in the case of animals. Did men then live in isolation, males and females would separate immediately after pairing, for the interim between seasons would be too long for sex jealousy to span. Only the disappearance of the pairing season, the establishment of ties between the male and offspring, or the discovery of cooperative advantages of group life could obviate the tendency to fall apart. Separation of sexes would spell promiscuity. Segregation would mean some kind of marriage.

Fifth, Westermarck supposes that close inbreeding and the "horror of incest" which arose consequent to it in primitive times were prohibitive of promiscuity. He offers a wide array of evidence to show that primitive people generally have a horror of incest. There are exceptions, and some of his evidence is contradicted by competent observers. The sexual saturnalias that primitive men periodically indulged in without respect to kinship ties creates a presumption as

to its weakness. That it is an instinct which became established early in the history of man by natural selection, as he maintains, does not appear to be true. It would not be necessary, save on the narrow pairing basis on which he insists and the existence of which is questionable. Moreover, it does not appear to be an instinct, as many modern experiences show. Not only have near relatives often married consciously, but at times unconsciously of the nearness of kinship ties. Incest is of frequent occurrence. The Chicago Vice Commission report gives startling facts of its frequency in producing vice. These things could not occur were there a prohibitive instinct. Like many other ideas, even the idea of deity, incest is an idea that is imbedded in the family stock of ideas and impressed on the minds of the young by the parental generation. Originally it may have grown out of religious tabus, reinforced by the fact that familiar sexual associates possess a minimum of sex attraction.

Whatever the exact nature of the origin of the inhibitory idea against incest this statement of Letourneau's appears to represent the truth: "It is quite certain . . . that during the first ages of the evolution of societies the ties of kinship, even those we are accustomed to regard as

sacred and respect for which seem to be incarnate in us, have not been any impediment to sexual unions. Like the sentiment of modesty, the horror of incest has only been engraved on the human conscience with great difficulty and by long culture. Samples of this kind are unknown to the animals, and before they could arise in the human brain it was first necessary that the family should be constituted, and then that from some motive or other the custom of exogamous marriage should be adopted."

The statement that the effects of close inbreeding would have a prohibitive force on promiscuity deserves more consideration than we can give. A review of the evidences as to the exact effects of breeding in and in would require many pages. Westermarck's extensive consideration of the facts gleaned from many investigators serves to show that the poorer strength and fertility of the offspring of closely related pairs are likely to show deterioration, though the effects are not uniform. Consequently, in the development of mankind, natural selection operated toward eliminating those groups of men who in-breed and the selecting of those which practiced exogamy, with the result that eventually a "powerful instinct" or aversion to marriage with relatives was established.

J. Arthur Thomson, in his *Heredity*, throws some doubt on such a hard and fast conclusion. He quotes G. H. Darwin as saying: "Biologically it seems certain that close interbreeding can go far without affecting physique, and that it is useful in fixing character." Thomson says: "The idea that there can be any objection to the marriage of two healthy cousins who happen to fall in love is preposterous." He gives instances of frequent inbreeding in the production of superior stocks of cattle. However, it must not be supposed that Thomson is an advocate of close inbreeding. Moreover, some of the historical examples of human inbreeding without serious results which he cites had previously been fairly disposed of by Westermarck. We may fairly conclude, I think, that continuous promiscuity practiced within a small group of primitive men would have caused deterioration of the stock, which in contact with the cross-breeding stocks, would ultimately disappear.*

Sixth, the principle of parallelism may have some application to the original human sex-

*On Mendelian principles the reason why outbreeding is better than inbreeding is that it scatters and hence covers defects instead of combining and heightening them as is done in inbreeding (see Walter, *Genetics*, pp. 242-3).

relation. As obtaining in other primitive matters it means that because of men's unitary origin they possess similar physical and mental characteristics. Consequently, when migrations had taken place and race stocks had been established in widely separated regions, similar artifacts and institutions appeared. The stone implements of Europe and America resemble each other in form, though there are differences of detail. Magic and tabus have occurred everywhere, though the particulars of their practice varied from place to place. Therefore we might expect that the similar sex instinct would work out some form of marriage, but that the institution would exhibit itself differently in various regions. While promiscuity may have occurred in places, the conflict of group with group, and the battles of males for leadership in groups of females, as well as the premium which natural selection placed on out-breeding stocks, militated against the establishment of a universal stage of sexual promiscuity.

3. The Belief in Promiscuity

How, then, did the belief in promiscuity as an original factor in the history of the family arise if it has never been general? Several different theories have been invented to substantiate

promiscuity, but the practices of present primitive men have chiefly given rise to the belief. Temporary unions, marriages for a term, partial marriages which are pecuniary transactions and good for only certain days of the week, corroborees and sexual saturnalia in which restraints are abandoned and free license prevails, wife lending so widely practiced, the result of viewing the female as property of the male, and group marriages, are some of the facts which have impressed travelers and led them to conclude that such peoples are without marital institutions. The group marriage which obtains among certain tribes of Australia, in which a man has a first wife and other secondary wives, and the wife has a chief husband and several potential husbands, all of which is regulated by tribal custom, until understood, presented the appearance of promiscuity. But carefully conducted investigations among primitive peoples have uniformly shown that some form of marital regulation obtains, although considerable license may exist. Westermarck is convinced, however, that a lack of chastity and the practice of license did not obtain originally, but has been introduced by the presence and contact of civilized men.

Marriage, like other institutions in the beginning, was stumbled into by primitive men.

As Letourneau safely says: "Every possible experiment, compatible with the duration of savage or barbarous societies, has been tried, or is still practiced, amongst various races." Society conducted an experiment as to how to incubate new social members successfully. The ancient animal method would not suffice for the more complicated life. The lengthened infancy and dependence of the young constituted nature's suggestion that a parental laboratory was required. The new economic requirements in relation to a changed food supply demanded a dependence of women at critical times, and division of labor between males and females in group matters. A heightening psychical ability enlarged the social capacity of the male and made him more available for family purposes. The operation of natural selection in weeding out the groups which practiced close inbreeding still further militated against promiscuity and advanced the chances of the family. All of these factors organized about that of sexual instinct, so far as we are able to approximate, account for the origin of human marriage.

CHAPTER III

THE EVOLUTION OF THE FAMILY

UPON an evolutionary basis it is quite natural to suppose that the family grew out of a primal stage of promiscuity, and that it ascended through successive stages of polygyny, polyandry, and monogamy to its present status. Theoretically this would constitute a perfect and logical scheme. Unfortunately for the theory the facts bearing on the development of the domestic institutions do not permit us to follow any such easy path. The course of the family has been tortuous, and the form which it has taken at any given time and place has evidently been determined by a great many circumstances. The family, like other institutions, has had to adjust itself to varied conditions, and what it is at any point of time has been determined by the forces and conditions at work in the society of the period. It is an institution which has been subjected to the vicissitudes of ignorance, war, economic changes, religious and political ideas and factors, and the passions and ideals of human beings. It has always been a product of

the factors of its age. Being a man-made or a society-made affair, it is subject to improvement and is an object with which the best intelligence and idealism of the age may well busy themselves.

1. Types of Families

The following forms of marriage have been developed in the course of human history: Monogamy, or the pairing of one man with one woman for more than a temporary lapse of time. Polygyny, the state of marriage in which one man possesses two or more wives or concubines. Polyandry, the form of marriage in which one woman is held as common wife by two or more men. Group marriage, two or more forms of which exist, one in which several brothers are married to several sisters, all the brothers being the husbands of all the sisters, and all the sisters wives of all the brothers; the other in which either all the husbands may be brothers, or all the wives may be sisters. Besides the above kinds of marriage, there are time and trial marriages. These are not exclusive of the forms monogamy, polygyny, and polyandry, but may occur with either form. Thus, it may be a custom among a primitive people that a man and woman shall live together as man and wife for

a fixed time, then separate; or that they may be husband or wife only on certain days of the week, sustaining to others those relationships on the other days. This is time or term marriage, and may take place under a monogamous or polygynous system. Or it may be the custom that fertility is regarded as the test of a valid marriage. In this case the pair separate as man and wife in case children do not result at the end of a year or a few years. This form may also operate in the case of either polygyny or monogamy; possibly also in that of polyandry. Time and trial marriages are what have been termed lax or brittle monogamy. That is, they are more likely to be the accompaniment of monogamy and enable it to pass as an easy or bearable substitute for polygyny.

2. Occurrence of the Forms of the Family

The prevalence of the forms of the family may be considered relative to time, or the various stages of social evolution, and at any given time, especially the present. The present distribution will receive treatment first.

One form of group marriage, *punaluan*, formerly existed in the Hawaiian Islands, and is found among the Todas of India today. This

is the marriage of a group of brothers to a group of sisters, each sister being the wife of all the brothers, and each brother the husband of all the sisters. The larger form of group marriage is to be found among the aborigines of Australia. In some of the tribes, men from certain groups of kinsmen may marry only with women from certain other kinship groups. Theoretically, each man is the husband of all the women and each woman the wife of all the men of the marriageable groups. In reality, each man has what may be called a first or real wife with whom he permanently abides. The other women are potential wives with whom he may cohabit under certain circumstances. The same situation is true for the women.

Polygyny has been and is a widespread form of marriage. It flourishes over large portions of native Africa, was practiced by many of the native tribes of America, obtains generally among all Mohammedan peoples, among Jews of Mohammedan countries, exists in various islands of Oceania, and is widespread among many peoples of Asia. It is impossible to state what portion of the human race practices polygyny, both because accurate statistics of populations of all its votaries does not exist, and because even where it is sanctioned by a

people it is in most cases impossible that more than a small part of the male population is able to support more than one wife. It is general among certain West African negro tribes, peoples living in what Dowd calls the banana zone. Women are more numerous than men and little capital is required to undertake the initial expenses of housekeeping. The women perform the labor, hence they are self-supporting. Scarcity of women and the expense attached to maintaining a number of wives militate against the universality of the institution even where it is sanctioned by custom. In India 95 per cent of the Mohammedan population are monogamous by necessity or conviction, while in Persia but 2 per cent practice polygyny. In Africa, in ascending through the successively higher economic zones, polygyny decreases by reason of the greater equality between the numbers of the sexes, the growing cost of domestic establishments, the increasing independence of women, and the heightened ideals of life.

Polyandry is relatively rare. It is confined to a few tribes and peoples of North America, a smaller number in South Africa, certain islands and peoples of Oceania, a few peoples of Africa and Madagascar, and quite a large number of peoples of Eastern and South Eastern Asia.

Tibet is the great home of polyandry. In most cases of polyandry the husbands are brothers. It is a universal practice among but a few peoples. It commonly occurs along with other forms of marriage and may be practiced by all classes of persons. Among the Khasias of Asia it prevails among the poor and is said to be used to facilitate divorce. In other places it is practiced by the wealthy.

It is evident from what has been said that at the present time monogamy constitutes the dominant form of marriage, at least conventionally. It is even possible that it is rarer than it was in earlier days of mankind, and high authorities contend that immorality and sex-irregularity are more widespread among mankind now than ever before. As in various other matters relative to marriage the scientific position is to refrain from dogmatism.

When we seek to establish the occurrence of the various forms of marriage along with definite stages in social evolution the task is found to be fairly difficult. Spencer gave his attentive genius to the question. To his first question: "Do societies of different degrees of composition habitually present different forms of domestic arrangement?" he replied that no definite relationship could be traced because monogamy,

polygyny, and polyandry occur in practically every stage of social composition from the lowest to the highest. However, in this connection one form of relation may be alleged. "Formation of compound groups, implying greater co-ordination and the strengthening of restraints, implies more settled arrangements, public and private. Growth of custom into law, which goes along with an extending governmental organization holding larger masses together, affects the domestic relations along with the political relations; and thus renders the family arrangements, be they polyandric, polygynic, or monogamic, more definite."

To his other question: "Are different forms of domestic arrangement associated with the militant system of organization and the industrial system of organization?" he affirmed that a general connection could be made out. But we must bear in mind that predominant militancy "is not so much shown by armies and the conquests they achieve, as by the constancy of their predatory activities. The contrast between militant and industrial, is properly between a state in which life is occupied in conflict with other beings, brute and human, and a state in which life is occupied in peaceful labor — energies spent in destruction instead of energies spent in produc-

tion. So conceiving militancy, we find polygyny to be its habitual accompaniment." Several lines of evidence of this exist. First, the co-existence of industrial development and monogamy among certain peoples, such as the natives of Port Dory, New Guinea, the Land Dyaks, certain hill tribes of India, the Lepachs, and the Iroquois and Pueblos of North America. Second, among primitive settled tribes, as in the case of those just mentioned, the development of chief and chiefly power is small, and the militancy is not great. Third, "the polygyny which prevails in simply predatory tribes, persists in aggregates of them welded together by war into small nations under established rulers; and in these frequently acquires large extensions." Thus, polygyny was marked among the militant ruling classes of the Fijians, of the peoples living in Ashanti and Dahomey in Africa, the ancient Peruvians, Mexicans, Chibchas, and Nicaraguans of America, and the old despotisms of the East. Fourth, "allied with this evidence is the evidence that in a simple tribe all the men of which are warriors, polygyny is generally diffused; but in a society compounded of such tribes, polygyny continues to characterize the militant part, while monogamy begins to characterize the industrial part." Fifth, a direct connection

between militancy and polygyny is seen in the practice of capturing women as trophies of war by warriors and making them additional wives and concubines. Further, incessant war leaves a surplus of women because the men fall in battle. Polygynous peoples have the advantage in such warfare of being able more rapidly to reproduce warriors. On the other hand, the decrease of war and increase of industry equalize the numbers of the sexes and because every man demands a wife, operate against polygyny. Sixth, because polygyny means domestic despotism and monogamy increases voluntary cooperation in the family, the former is congruous with a militant social system while the latter naturally harmonizes with the industrial form of society. (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, Part III, Chapter 9.)

3. Kinship Systems

Closely connected with marriage has gone the method of tracing descent. L. H. Morgan, the American ethnologist, traced several systems of kinship. But for our purposes two general systems may be spoken of—the metronymic or maternal system, and the patronymic or paternal system. The metronymic system prevailed earliest in human society, and seems to have

been quite or almost a general stage through which humanity passed. In this system the children belong to the clan of the mother, are fostered and cared for by it, and bear the name of the maternal group. The father dwells with the maternal group but his name is not taken by the child. Further, the mother's kinsmen appear to exercise the greater authority over the children. Some investigators have believed that this system arose during a system of promiscuity, since under such a regime it would be impossible to identify the father of a child, whereas the identity of the mother is always apparent. But as we have seen, promiscuity likely has never been general and it is necessary to explain the origin of the kinship method otherwise. It is obvious that animals know nothing of the paternal relationship. It is most probable that the earliest men know nothing of it. In fact, a recent investigator asserts that among certain primitive peoples of the present time the part the father plays in fertilization is not known. The appearance of the child is regarded as a matter of magic or religion. Under such conditions the father could lay no claim to a child and it would follow that it would bear the mother's name. Moreover, since the woman, because of her child bearing func-

tion, is more sedentary, more a fixture in camp and locality than man, the offspring in primitive times lived with the mother and the community life formed about her. It is natural and logical that the method of tracing lineage should center in her.

It has been claimed that the existence of the maternal system carries with it the idea of the supremacy of woman in the social group. Westermarck has compiled data to show that among primitive peoples living now, the paternal system is quite or even more general than the maternal. Even if this does not prove that the maternal system was never general, which he thinks it does prove, it involves much evidence that matriarchy—that is government and authority by women—was never universal. It is theoretically easy to assume that since the earliest groups probably formed about woman, she therefore exercised control of group matters. But it is pointed out that even where the maternal system prevails she does not generally exercise any great authority. The cases of large control by women as among the Iroquois, Zuni Indians, etc., are rather exceptional.

The paternal system is so called because of the method of naming children after the father and of tracing descent through the main line. It

is the universal usage among civilized peoples and, as has been said, obtains among the larger number of present primitive men. It not only involves the transfer of names through the male line but also that of property. Moreover, it involves the dominance of man over the wives and children, and this sometimes in an exceedingly harsh manner and to a very extreme degree. The patriarchy was the culmination of it in its exaggerated form. This is well pictured in the Old Testament accounts of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Sir Henry Maine wrongly believed it was the original form of human marriage.

The causes which operated to bring about the revolutionary transformation from the maternal order to the paternal, wherever the change has taken place, are numerous. Wife capture, which tore the woman away from her kindred group and made her a dependent in the group of the man, had a decisive effect in that direction. War, which by means of military organization magnified the power of the male and also brought him many human chattels in the shape of women, would but build up a system of male inheritance. Religion contributed its part by elevating the male line through its development of ancestor worship, women being too little heroic and spectacular to serve as deities. Also great would be

the influence of the necessity imposed on the family group of participating in distant hunting expeditions, of going far from home for water for the herds, and most of all of passing from the hunting to the pastoral stage of life. The latter in particular imposed a permanent separation of women from their blood group and weakened their power.

4. Reasons for Various Forms of the Family

To illustrate the force which social conditions exercise on domestic institutions it may be well to mention the causes which operated to produce the chief forms of the family. And in this undertaking only the larger causal conditions can be noticed.

Relative to the least important of the three great forms of marriage, polyandry, many different causes have been assigned. No special kind of geographical environment can account for it, since it obtains under most diverse circumstances. Economic conditions may be contributive in that the cost of securing and keeping a wife in naturally poor countries may be burdensome. But these are likely to operate only after the custom is once established. Moreover, it is practiced by the wealthy in some places. Excess in the number of males because of female

infanticide, or excess of male births, may play a minor part, though, as Spencer remarks, it is practiced in Tahiti, where the sexes are probably equal. In Kunwar it is said to be assigned to the desire to keep the patrimony from being distributed among a number of brothers. To guard the woman against danger and difficulty during the absence of her husband, is an assigned cause of minor value. The Shinalesse ascribe it to the desire to protect the rice fields during forced attendance of the people on the king. Fraternal affection on the part of the elder brother operating to give the younger brothers the privilege of a wife has received mention. Spencer rejects scarcity of women and poverty as sufficient causes and regards polyandry "as one of the kinds of marital relations emerging from the primitive unregulated state; and one which has survived when competing kinds, not favored by the conditions, have failed to extinguish it."

While its causes may remain in doubt, polyandry is a passing system. An advance in industrial life appears to militate against it. In its stronghold, Tibet, the introduction of commerce with the consequent accumulation of wealth leads to separate establishments on the part of the several members of the household. Further it

tends to be modified in the direction of monogamy, since in the case of brother husbands the elder brother is the chief or real husband, the younger brothers being regarded as secondary husbands and are frequently the servants of the elder brother. In other cases one husband is accounted the real and the others are secondary husbands, even servants. It is but a step from this conception to a system in which there is but a single husband. This principle is essentially as that which operates to undermine polygyny.

The reasons assigned for the occurrence of polygyny are more definite. First, polygyny is frequently connected with wife capture. In Africa many negro tribes make forays on neighboring peoples to secure women. These become concubines or slaves of the men. The reasons for this may be numerous. The economic value of women as labor units is very large in certain regions, especially in west central Africa and on the western coast. Also the ability to capture women bestows a distinction on the most successful warrior. The marked man is the one who has captured or stolen a large number of women. Hence numerous women become the insignia of rank and honor. The desire for novelty together with brutal lust operate

strongly in the primitive stage to promote capture.

Second, as has been remarked, the economic importance of women in primitive society is great. Women are easily subordinated in slavery, or in a concubinage akin to it where these secondary wives perform the bulk of the labor. Their defenselessness and their tractable nature make them easy prey. Not only is woman captured and enslaved but she is purchased outright for that end, either by money or commodities, or by rendering service for a term of years, as did Jacob. In New Caledonia chiefs have from 5 to 30 wives and their wealth and authority varies with this ownership. An Eastern Central African finds no difficulty in supporting hundreds of wives, since the more he has the richer he is. An American Indian could be absolved from the arduousness of hunting to support his family whenever he could secure as many as five wives.

Third, at a certain stage of social evolution a man's rank and authority is dependent on the size of his family. Not only is he rated by the number of his wives but by that of his children. Moreover, his only friends are those of his family, and his safety and fighting power are determined by the size of his family group. Further, the

early marriage and hard labor of the women impose small number of births per woman. The mortality of children also reduces their number. Hence the desire for many children tends to promote polygyny.

Fourth, monogamy imposes continence on a man during certain periods of time, namely, during each month, and the period of pregnancy. During the latter period it is especially enforced among many primitive folk. Continence may be compulsory also even until the weaning of the child, which takes place late in the child's life where people live on rough foods. The grounds for these prohibitions may be either hygienic, or religious, in the latter case disease being ascribed to evil spirits. Escape from the state of continence is secured by the multiplication of wives.

Fifth, one of the chief causes of polygyny exists in the attractive power of youth and beauty upon men. Women age much younger than men, especially in primitive conditions when they marry and become mothers as early as twelve or fourteen, perform the hardest of labor, and where suckling the child extends over long periods. Early intercourse with the other sex is assigned as an additional cause of premature aging.

Sixth, when once the custom of polygyny is established and the rich and powerful practice it religion throws about it its powerful sanction. Indeed a developed religion may specifically promote it as in the cases of Mohammedanism and Mormonism. Usually, however, religion sanctions and promotes what has come to be established. The Hebrew religion not only did not prohibit polygyny but looked with special favor on influential men who practiced it.

Seventh, the inequality of the sexes may promote polygyny. In some cases the women are said to outnumber the men several fold. Among certain African peoples women are five times more numerous than the men, and nearly the same divergence occurs elsewhere. However, these are exceptional cases. Among some peoples this disproportion occurs at the time of birth, the females largely exceeding the males in number. These also are special cases. Perhaps incessant war which decimates the males is the largest single factor in producing the inequality.

Certain comparative effects ensue from the system of polygyny. First, on family matters; under polygyny, compared with polyandry and other lower forms of marriage, the kinship relations are rendered more definite, since both the father and mother of the offspring are known.

Defining the relations undoubtedly strengthens the parental, especially the paternal feeling. This traceable male descent serves also to give more cohesion to the group. On the other hand, it is likely that the fraternal feelings are weakened as compared with polyandry. Polygyny commonly engenders intense jealousy among the wives of a family, and this in turn is communicated to the offspring of each wife. Thus the attachment among the half brothers and half sisters can but be less than that of full brothers and sisters.

Second, polygyny has certain other effects. One is connected with the self-preservation of society. If by reason of war and other causes females outnumber the males the population is enabled to be duly increased by rendering all the women of the group fecund by giving each a husband. Again if in a militant state the prowess of the men determines who shall have wives and bear offspring, the stock of the group is improved by the reproduction of the superior stock. The political stability of a backward social group is doubtless enhanced by bestowing upon the males the power in society. Religion in the form of ancestor worship, along with its sanctions, is built up by the establishment of descent through the male line. Polygyny has

a bearing on the offspring that is superior to other lower forms of marriage. Where the region is fertile the protection afforded by a father is doubtless conducive to their welfare. Where the Levirate obtains, the brother of the man upon his death adopts his wife and family, thus affording protection and preventing child mortality. Polygyny may also promote the welfare of the adults as compared with lower forms of marriage. By attaching all the females of the group to a male it guarantees them food and protection which otherwise in a primitive state they would not have. But unless separated in independent houses the state of the wives is commonly miserable. Jealousy and strife is incessant. Because of this the Hebrew term for wife is tzarot, which means troubles, adversaries, rivals. Higher sex sentiment is strangled by viewing wives as chattels and through the very numerosness of wives. It is common that among savage polygynous peoples there is no manifestation of affection between the sexes. Negroes have no term for love. Old age, moreover, brings its own special penalties under polygyny. There is a decided abridgement of life after the reproductive period is past. Further, for men all through life there is a lack of the comforts of domestic affection.

The reasons for the establishment and continuance of monogamy are almost identical with those for the elimination of polygyny. Hence a consideration of the former will largely reveal the latter. First, the sexes are and always have been relatively equal in number. As we have seen, in a few exceptional cases the women are numerically superior. Generally then injustice is done a large number of men where polygyny prevails and monogamy is the natural remedy for that injustice. Whenever enlightenment develops and democracy takes root, and especially wherever the freedom, equality, and mutuality of an industrial society displaces the arbitrary, despotic, and predatory character of a militant one, the institution of marriage responds and conventional polygyny goes into disrepute. Because monogamy makes use of the equality in the number of the sexes, it is the method by which the largest number of family groups for the training and rearing of children is possible. In so far as the child is the justification of the family this commends monogamy as the highest form of marriage.

Second, the rise of the idea of property in woman may have an influence towards monogamy. When women have to be purchased rather than captured, whether by money or service, they are

rendered more inaccessible to the average man and hence come to have a higher value. Men will resent encroachment or invasion of this property right and be less likely to part with a wife by an easy divorce method.

Third, as in polyandry, the preference by custom or choice by the wife of one of the husbands as the real husband tends to develop monogamy, so in polygyny the elevation of one wife, either because she is the first or because of her beauty, operates in the same direction. While under the sway of custom and religious sanction, women living under polygyny may and do support it, there are overwhelming indications that the system runs counter to their jealous nature and that it degrades their best sex sentiments. Polygyny finds its approval by women where they carry all the burdens of outside and inside labor. Under such cases an additional wife lessens the work of earlier ones, and they may even importune that more wives be procured. Yet wide evidence testifies to the intense jealousy, rivalry, enmity, and oftentimes bickering and fighting that exists among polygynous wives. Monogamy relieves the situation and satisfies the desire of the wife to be regarded as the sole object of marital affection. Says Westermarck: "Where women have succeeded

in obtaining some power over their husbands, or where the altruistic feelings of men have become refined enough to lead them to respect the feelings of those weaker than themselves, monogamy is generally considered the only proper form of marriage. Among monogamous savage or barbarous races the position of woman is comparatively good; and the one phenomenon must be regarded as partly the cause, partly the effect, of the other."

Fourth, polygyny will be abandoned and monogamy advanced in so far as war declines and economic conditions generally improve. The decline of the first removes a great agency for the exploitation of women through capture and enslavement. Rising economic conditions tend to eliminate women from the external field of labor by making it imperative that man shall do the work and carry the responsibility. This in turn operates among the mass of men to make women more independent and less inclined to bear the burdens and disadvantages of polygyny. Thus, as we ascend through the successive zones of Africa—the banana, millet, cattle, and camel—we discover an evolution towards monogamy. In the first women are cheap and polygyny is general; in the second women are scarcer and dearer, men do part of the work, and polygyny

has decreased; in the third women are much scarcer and dearer, men perform most of the work, and monogamy obtains for much of the population; in the fourth, women are independent and will not put up with polygyny.

Fifth, many causes bound up with advancing civilization, promote the extension of monogamy. The development of the mental and moral qualities refines the passions which unite the sexes, makes love less dependent on mere external qualities, and extends the sympathy between husband and wife beyond the decline of youth and beauty. The rise of romantic love is relatively a recent occurrence. By this the affections are placed on but one of the opposite sex, that one is clothed with raiments of perfection, and chivalric loyalty becomes the ideal of married life. Though this halo of glory may fade away during married life, it serves as a preparatory period in which the substantial and permanent characteristics may be discovered, and promotes monogamy. Likewise the development of an understanding of the conditions of life, of enlightenment and idealism, of a love and loyalty for the good of mankind, of an appreciation of childhood, and the importance of well trained and rightly conditioned offspring for the promotion of progress serve to create the highest type

of family. With the development of the monogamous family kinship ties are made more definite, fraternal affection enhanced, love for parents and for offspring intensified and refined, childhood and youth rendered richer and more secure, the contents of family life enlarged and deepened, and the declining and oftentimes dependent years of the parents given a security and sweetness not to be found under other forms.

5. Development of the Monogamous Family

While there has been an evolution of marriage through the various forms, as has been seen, within monogamy itself there has been a marked change. There is a vast distinction between the monogamic family which exists in America and that which obtained in early Rome, or even in earlier Christendom. The transformations that have occurred have to do with woman's position in the home, her relation to her husband and children in matters of powers and duties, her legal rights in property and marital matters, and her social outlook and opportunities.

Rome, which is probably typical of Aryan peoples, shows a distinct transformation of the family. In its earlier period the extreme patriarchal type of family flourished. Ancestor worship was the basis of this. The eldest male of

a large kinship group was the despotic ruler. Because he represented the deified ancestors his power was only limited by custom and religious scruples. Property descended in the male line. The patriarch was the priest of the family. He might divorce a sterile wife, accept or reject the child at birth, choose the husband for his daughter, disinherit his son, and put to death the wife for adultery. He administered the judicial power of the household. The Aryan laws of Manu said: "Woman during her infancy depends upon her father; during her youth upon her husband; when her husband is dead, upon her sons; if she has no son, on the nearest relative of her husband, for a woman ought never to govern herself according to her own will." This strict patriarchal system held sway during the first five or six centuries of Roman history.

But the growth of population, and the development of agriculture, industry, and commerce, undermined the primitive patriarchal groups, and called for the exercise of powers over social matters by a central legislative and administrative organization. The council and senate assumed many of the powers and duties which had been exercised by the patriarch. Ancestor worship was undermined by the introduction of

nature worship and the appearance of philosophy. The rights of children were equalized by giving the father power to make a will which might include all the children, females as well as males. Marriage became a private contract and the right of divorce extended to women. Patriarchal kinship lines were broken by the incorporation of inhabitants into cities, and families were organized on the non-patriarchal basis.

Under the Roman Empire social conditions were corrupt. Family life had waned. Vice was rampant, divorce frequent, and the family of integrity and purity, at least in the city of Rome, was infrequent. Juvenal cites the case of a woman who married eight husbands in five years. Yet there must have been many who stood for the old standards, for Lecky writes: "There can be no question that the moral tone of the (female) sex was extremely low—lower, probably, than in France under the Regency, or in England under the Restoration—and it is also certain that frightful excesses of unnatural passion, of which the most corrupt of modern courts present no parallel, were perpetrated with but little concealment on the Palatine. Yet there is probably no period in which examples of conjugal heroism and fidelity appear more

frequent than in this very age, in which marriage was most free, and in which corruption was so general." It was in this period that Christianity arose with its high conception of marriage and its restricted sanction of divorce. The efforts of early Christians were undoubtedly directed towards the purification of the family, elimination of divorce and vice, and the improvement of the lives of children. Early church writers attacked sex immorality and licentiousness, and praised chastity and celibacy. The family life of the early Christians was undoubtedly superior to that of the pagan world generally.

In a later period, with the church strongly established and with weak political states, the family came under the regulation of the former. Marriage was made a sacrament of the church, divorce was prohibited. Marriage was brought under the entire control of the church. But bad influences entered along with the good. The patriarchal type of family was promoted, woman being viewed as inferior to man and confined to domestic duties exclusively. Further, the elevation of the doctrine of celibacy debased the married state. Only the highest spiritual power could be attained through abstaining from marriage. Hence the latter involved spiritual pollution. Moreover, celibacy could not be kept

chaste. Family life was invaded and polluted from the direction of a theoretically superior spirituality. Moreover, the administration of the canonical laws relative to prohibited degrees and annulment of marriage was distorted to meet the demands of influential persons. It is questionable if a thousand years after Christ marriage was improved as compared to its condition in Rome in the first century.

The Reformation attacked the abuses of the system of controlling marriage. Marriage ceased to be viewed as a sacrament, it was widely held to be a civil contract, notably by the Puritans, and the grounds for divorce were broadened. Since then the tendency has grown to look on marriage in that way and to place it under the entire control of the state. In recent times the patriarchal family regime is being loosened. Education has raised the intelligence of women, vocations have been opened to them so that marriage is not immediately imperative, political and civil rights have been extended. Woman has come to be regarded more as a human being, possessed of much the same capacity as man. As a consequence, her participation in matters outside the home has enlarged with a consequent improvement in the internal home relationships. With the improvement of the

status of woman relative to the family and the home that of children has grown apace. Their rights and privileges in matters of play, enjoyment, education, and to a just consideration on the part of fathers as well as mothers are generally conceded, and mark one of the greatest advances in family life.

CHAPTER IV

CURRENT CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE FAMILY

FOR the purposes of this chapter it is assumed that it has been amply established that the modern family is marked by higher ethical characteristics than that of previous times, and that the welfare of society demands a further evolution in that direction. Further, that the monogamic form of marriage is the form of family which best subserves the interests of the offspring, parents, and the community at large. The conclusion is apparent that whatever threatens the existence of the family, lowers its tone, or affects its efficiency must be viewed as inimical to society generally. The further inference follows, that wisdom dictates that a serious study of conditions affecting family life should be made in order that their nature may be understood and that evil consequences may be averted. In the present chapter attention will be paid only to the more pressing and menacing of current conditions. To give a treatment of all those that press on the family is obviously impossible in a single chapter of a small volume. However, it is worth while to

consider the more fundamental ones, and, where possible, to point out remedies. It may be superfluous to state that no single condition considered here stands apart by itself. In the nature of the case by the very fact that they are social, all conditions are more or less interdependent. Consequently, like the directorates of the great financial and industrial institutions of the time, the conditions which affect the family are interlocking.

1. Conditions Affecting Marriage

There are a number of conditions which affect the entrance into matrimonial life. It is frequently asserted that marriage is decreasing in the United States. This opinion is based on the fact that there is a large number of single women and men, particularly the latter, in this country. Thus in 1910, there were 12,550,129 males 15 years of age and over, or 38.7 per cent of males of that age, and 8,933,170 females belonging to the same age group, or 29.7 per cent of females of that age, who were single. But these facts are misleading and the opinion cited is undoubtedly questionable, although no absolutely decisive data covering a large lapse of time are obtainable. However, there are two sets of facts which are suggestive. One consists

of statistics of single men and women 65 years of age and over and who presumably will never marry. In 1890, 5.6 per cent of each of males and females belonging to this age group were unmarried. Twenty years later, 6.2 per cent of all males of this age group and 6.3 per cent of females were reported single. This would indicate a very insignificant increase in the number of single persons, since there are relatively few persons 65 years of age and over.

The other set of facts comprises statistics of marriage from 1887 to 1906. An increase in the marriage rate is found for the United States as a whole, and for each of the several geographic divisions. The number of marriages per 10,000 of population for the nation rose from about 87.5 in 1887 to 105 in 1906. In the western division, it rose from about 71 to about 127, this being the greatest gain. The North Central Division showed the least ascent, rising from about 91 to about 97.5. These facts seemingly indicate that the unmarried element of the population is being absorbed. But there are two factors which evidently qualify this interpretation. First, there is a growth in the proportion of marriages reported during the period involved. Second, there has been a growth of divorce and remarriage during that time.

However, a comparison of the percentages of single persons 15 years of age and over reported by the censuses of 1890, 1900 and 1910 respectively were: males, 41.7, 40.2, and 38.7; females, 31.8, 31.2, and 29.7, indicating a decrease of unmarried persons in each case. Further, in the South Atlantic states, where the divorce rate is lowest, the rate of increase of marriage far exceeded that of divorce, indicating a large net increase of the former. The inference must be, consequently, that there is a probable decrease in the number of unmarried persons in the United States.

A supposedly considerable factor affecting marriage is that of its asserted postponement. Some careful writers assign postponement of marriage as a fruitful source of increased divorce. But a study of the statistics of married and unmarried persons in the United States during the last two decades reveals the fact that more marriages of persons from 15 to 34 years of age occurred in the decade ending 1910 than in the one ending in 1890. The percentages of decrease of single persons in the various age groups, 15-19, 20-24, 25-34, were in the same order, as follows: males, 1.1, 5.8, 1.8; females, 2.4, 3.5, 1.7. On the other hand, there was an increase of single persons in the succeeding age

groups, 35-44, 45-64, and 65 and over, as follows: males, 1.4, 1.9, 0.6; females, 1.5, 1.4, and 0.7. This would indicate that an increasing number of persons are marrying early in life rather than the reverse. The statistics of marriage, though of less value because of the inclusion of remarriage of widowed and divorced, prove the same thing. No doubt in certain callings there may be a postponement of marriage, but they constitute a minimum of the national population. But their conspicuousness has given rise to the assumption of a general postponement of marriage.

The reasons given for the supposed abandonment and postponement of marriage are the opening up of new occupations to women, their growing independence, the "woman movement," heightening education, the increased cost of living and relatively shortened incomes, and the self-centered career of young men in cities. No doubt these assigned reasons touch the case of the groups in which there is an actual abandonment and postponement of marriage. Severe economic conditions demonstrably postpone marriage temporarily. Thus following the panics of 1893 and of 1903 the otherwise occurring annual increase of marriages was reversed and became a decrease. The decrease varied with the

severity of the panic and with the region. But a growing increase in the number of marriages took place during one of the two succeeding years. A better regulation of the industry and finance of the nation will obviate even this temporary postponement. Most of the other causes are inherent in an evolving progressive society and are likely to remain.

2. Conditions Affecting the Size of Families

The importance of the size of families has been partly discussed in the chapter on the functions of the family. There it was indicated that the continuance of a stock or nation is dependent on the general fecundity of the married persons living in the given group. To keep up a stock of people, it is necessary that there should be as many as three offspring per pair. It is very desirable that talented families should be perpetuated, but in order that they shall not be eliminated the above rate of reproduction must be maintained. A highly civilized nation should not only perpetuate itself but at the same time maintain a relatively high rate of fecundity in order that it shall not sink into such an inconspicuous place that its influence upon the world at large is lost. But even a small nation may be influential. That of Switzerland, for exam-

ple, on the world at large has been out of keeping with its numerical importance. Perhaps if militarism could be abolished, nations generally could afford to pay less attention to the matter of increase of population and devote their efforts to developing the arts of peace and civilization. However, there seems to be a connection between fecundity and the production of a vigorous civilization. Large families and large nations appear to be productive of individuals of large vitality. I know of no statistics on this particular point, but observation would seem to substantiate it. It is claimed Karl Pearson has demonstrated statistically that immunity from tuberculosis increases with the second, and especially the third, child of the family. It is supposed that this immunity may extend to other diseases. But the claim requires further proof.

The size of families has steadily declined in the United States since the first census was taken in 1790. The percentages of natural increase of population for the successive decades ending in 1800, 1810, 1820, 1830, and 1840 were respectively 33.9, 33.5, 32.1, 30.9, and 29.6; showing an average decennial decline of 0.86 per cent. This was previous to the heavy immigration which set in about 1840. Between 1850 and 1900

the number of persons in a family in the United States was reduced from 5.6 to 4.7, a decrease of 16.1 per cent. This would give 3.6 children per family in 1850, and but 2.7 in 1900. A decline in the birth rate and reduction in the size of families is a world phenomenon, one common to civilized nations, Germany alone excepted, and is seen in the city populations of all countries.

The postponement of marriage doubtless operates to decrease the size of families, in so far as it obtains. It is amply established that the first few years of sexual maturity represent the period of greatest fecundity. If marriage is delayed until this period is past, a smaller family is generally inevitable. In New South Wales it is estimated that where the average number of children is 3.6 per family, a woman of 20 may expect 5 children, one of 28, 3, one of 32, 2, and one of 37, 1. In Scotland the period of greatest fecundity of women is between the ages of 15 and 24. Coughlan believes that one-sixth of the decline of birth rate of New South Wales is due to late marriage and Heron calculates it accounts for 50 per cent of the decline in London. As we have seen, marriage in the United States during the two decades ending with 1910 has occurred earlier for the

nation as a whole. The small groups of people who probably marry late, doubtless reduce their fecundity by that event, whether or not they actually reduce the size of their families.

The exercise of prudence or voluntary control of reproduction is unquestionably the largest factor in the reduction of the size of families. Sidney Webb's investigation in England among the middle-class people shows that out of 316 marriages, 242 practiced limitation of offspring, while for the ten years, 1890-1899, out of 120 marriages, 107 were limited, and five of the remainder were childless. His study of benefits on child-birth in the Heart of Oaks Friendly Society indicates that in 1880, 2,472 per 10,000 members received such benefits, whereas in 1904, only 1,165 for the same number of members drew on that fund. This is a higher decrease of children than is noted for England at large. No such inquiries have been made in the United States, but it is likely that about the same forces are at work here as in England, although it is evident that the limitation of families is not as widespread here as there.

The motives for the exercise of prudence doubtless are numerous. Those who replied to Webb's questions relative to reasons for limiting reproduction, in the group of cases first cited

above, numbered 128. Of these, 73 alleged poverty of the parents in relation to the standards of comfort; 24 assigned sexual ill health; 38, other ill health in parents; 24, disinclination of wife; 8, termination of marriage by the death of a parent. Since these were middle-class people, it is not unlikely that their motives are fairly representative for inhabitants of America. Doubtless the rising standard of living, the exhaustion of free public land, the growth of luxury on the part of some, the higher education of both men and women, the growing selfishness in certain sections of the population, and the abandonment of the belief in the binding force of the Old Testament injunction on the Hebrews to be fruitful and multiply are factors accounting for the increased exercise of prudence.

Immigration is assigned as a cause of the falling birth-rate in America. One of its effects is taken to be the retardation of increase of the native stock of America. While of some moment, this factor has been overrated. The decline in the birth-rate in the United States was quite as marked previous to the advent of large scale immigration as subsequent to it. Where workers immediately compete with cheap foreign labor, this influence would be most marked, but it has little effect on the nation at large, which has been

predominantly agricultural during our history. Goldenweiser, of the United States Census Bureau, fairly demonstrates that the claim that our national population would have been larger now than it is if immigration had not taken place has little to rest on; and connects the decrease in number of the native stock with urbanization and industrialization.

The spread of venereal diseases is a large factor in decreasing the size of families. There are no governmental statistics bearing on this subject and data relative to these diseases will appear in a later portion of this chapter. It will be sufficient in the present place to call attention to the fact that much sterility of infected women, a large number of abortions and expulsions of children dead before birth, and an overwhelming decadence of children born of infected parents result from the "Black Plague."

Nor must we fail to mention the effect that developing civilization exercises in this direction. In the evolution of the forms of life the rate of reproduction has fallen off with the growth of brain and intelligence. Increasing rationality and psychical development generally has created parenthood and childhood and guaranteed life against premature death. The supply of living

forms could be secured advantageously by saving individuals already born from ruthless extermination. Hence, in the higher forms of life, birth-rates are lowered because deaths are postponed. During the course of human evolution the same tendency is noticeable. Nature seeks to strike a balance. In nations having a heavy death-rate, a high birth-rate is made imperative if the nation is to live and grow. But where life is made secure, where infant mortality is reduced to the minimum and much attention given to sanitation and education, national and racial perpetuity are secured without a multiplicity of births per family.

3. *Divorce*

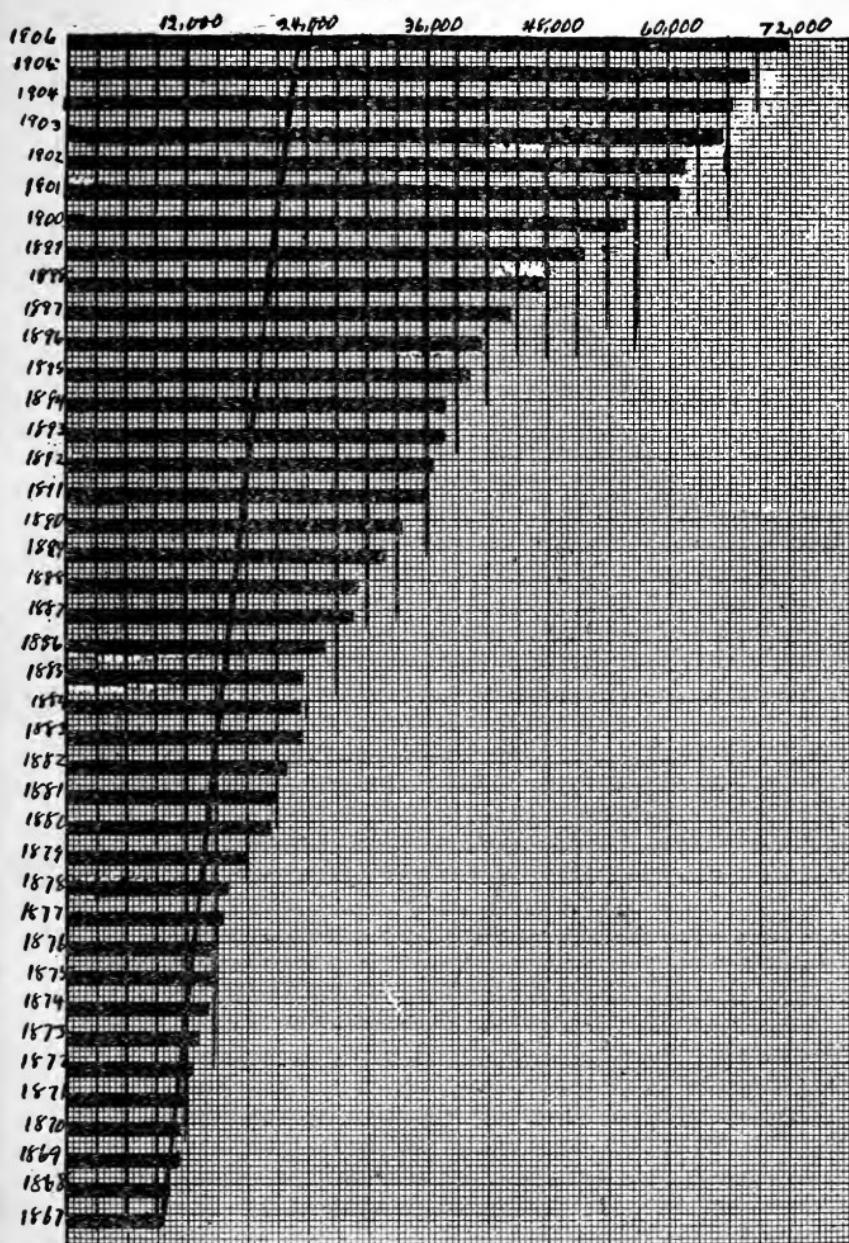
Probably no condition that touches the family has been discussed longer and at present attracts more attention than that of divorce. Its rapid growth in the United States especially, and its increase in other nations renders it conspicuous and causes many to seriously question whether or not the principle of monogamy is not being threatened. Some of the larger aspects of divorce will be treated. It is unfortunate that statistics are not available for correlating divorce with other social phenomena in order that the real causes of divorce might be discovered. Until

such a correlation is made the actual conditions producing it can only be approximated.

Much care is needful in using statistics of divorce because the case is likely to be exaggerated, and it is bad enough when truthfully represented. The statement is ordinarily made that there is about one divorce for every thirteen marriages in the United States. But two corrections must be made relative to this statement. First, it pertains to native marriages only, that is, marriages of native-born persons. Second, the comparison relates only to marriages which have been terminated either by death or divorce. Existing marriages do not enter into the ratio. With these qualifications in view, Pictogram I depicts the growth of divorce in the United States from 1867 to 1906. In 1867 there were less than 10,000 divorces granted; in 1906, there were about 72,000. The diagonal line indicates the number there would have been in the latter year had the rate of 1867 relative to the population been maintained; that is, about 23,000. In other words, the ratio of divorce to population in 1906 was 3.13 times what it was in 1867.

A more significant measure of the frequency of divorce is to denote its ratio to the number of marriages. Viewed in this way, in 1870 there were 81 divorces granted for each 100,000 of

PICTOGRAM I



Growth of divorce in the United States
Special U. S. Census Report, Marriage and Divorce,
Part I, p. 12

the married population, while in 1900 the number was 200, which indicates an increase of 247 per cent during that period.

As compared with European nations, the divorce rate in the United States is very high. In 1870 the rate in the United States was 29 per 100,000 of the population. That of Denmark was 18, being the highest European rate; Sweden and Netherlands stood next with 3 each. In 1900 the rates per 100,000 stood as follows: United States, 73; Switzerland, 32; France, 23; Denmark, 17; German Empire, 15; Servia, 13. The other European countries for which comparative data are given range from 11 to 1, the latter being the rate for Austria. It is to be noticed that the divorce rate is increasing in Europe, especially in Switzerland, France, and Germany.

Coming to the question of causes of divorce we enter a debatable field. Some general socio-logical conditions connected with the situation may be treated. Geographically, the Western, North Central and South Central Divisions of the United States bear the highest divorce-rate. The Western Division rose from 50 to about 170 divorces per 100,000 of population from 1867 to 1906. In the same time, the North Central rose from about 44 to about 108; the South

Central from about 15 to about 118; the North Atlantic from about 17 to about 41; the South Atlantic from about 8 to about 43. Thus the Western and South Central Divisions made the greatest increases.

A probably somewhat similar situation occurs relative to urban and rural communities. The divorce-rate is generally higher in cities than in the country. In some states the urban and rural rates diverge markedly. Thus per 100,000 population the city and rural rates in their order for these states in 1900 are: Rhode Island, 119 and 60; Indiana, 233 and 134; Iowa, 251 and 85; Washington, 266 and 162; California, 219 and 128. In Kansas City the rate is 2.6 times as high as for the rural counties of Missouri. It is estimated that the newer sections of the nation and the cities which are building up rapidly present somewhat similar conditions for producing divorce. The ambitious, the restless, and frequently the less scrupulous rush towards both kinds of communities. The restraints of former community life are removed so that divorce arises as a probable concomitant of other excesses in life.

Race and nationality do not appear to play a very large part in the production of divorce. It is difficult to determine whether or not negroes

account for the rising rate in the South. In Louisiana the rate is highest in the densest negro counties, while the reverse is true in Florida. But it is determined that the rate is lower among foreign-born white persons than among native whites of native American parentage. For every 100,000 persons 15 years of age or over living in the United States in 1910, born in foreign countries, there were 346 persons divorced. Among native whites of the same age group born of foreign or mixed parentage the rate was 240, while among native whites born of native parents it was 589. Immigrants from nations having low divorce rates and oftentimes emphasizing the sacramental character of marriage would be expected to apply for fewer divorces than citizens of our nation generally. But why the second group, native whites born of foreign or mixed parents, should secure relatively so much fewer divorces, does not appear.

It may be fair to conclude that barrenness is a standing cause of divorce, since for the period 1887 to 1906, 40.2 per cent of all cases of divorce reported no children. Occupation may affect the case, but little is known about this. The Special Report on Marriage and Divorce of the United States Census Bureau arranges the occupations relative to their probable fre-

quency of divorce. Of 39 occupations and occupational groups the five highest in the list are actors and professional showmen; musicians and teachers of music; commercial travelers; telegraph and telephone operators; and physicians and surgeons. The five lowest in the scale are agricultural laborers; clergymen; draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc.; blacksmiths; farmers, planters, and overseers. But not a great deal of weight is claimed for this arrangement.

A growing proportion of divorces is being granted to women. Among other things shown, Pictogram II* exhibits this fact. It is seen that practically twice as many divorces are issued to wives as to husbands. Various reasons are suggested to explain this, such as the decay of the spirit of submission to the double standard of morality on woman's part, and her growing independence of thought and of action which are due to education and opportunities in the industrial or occupational fields.

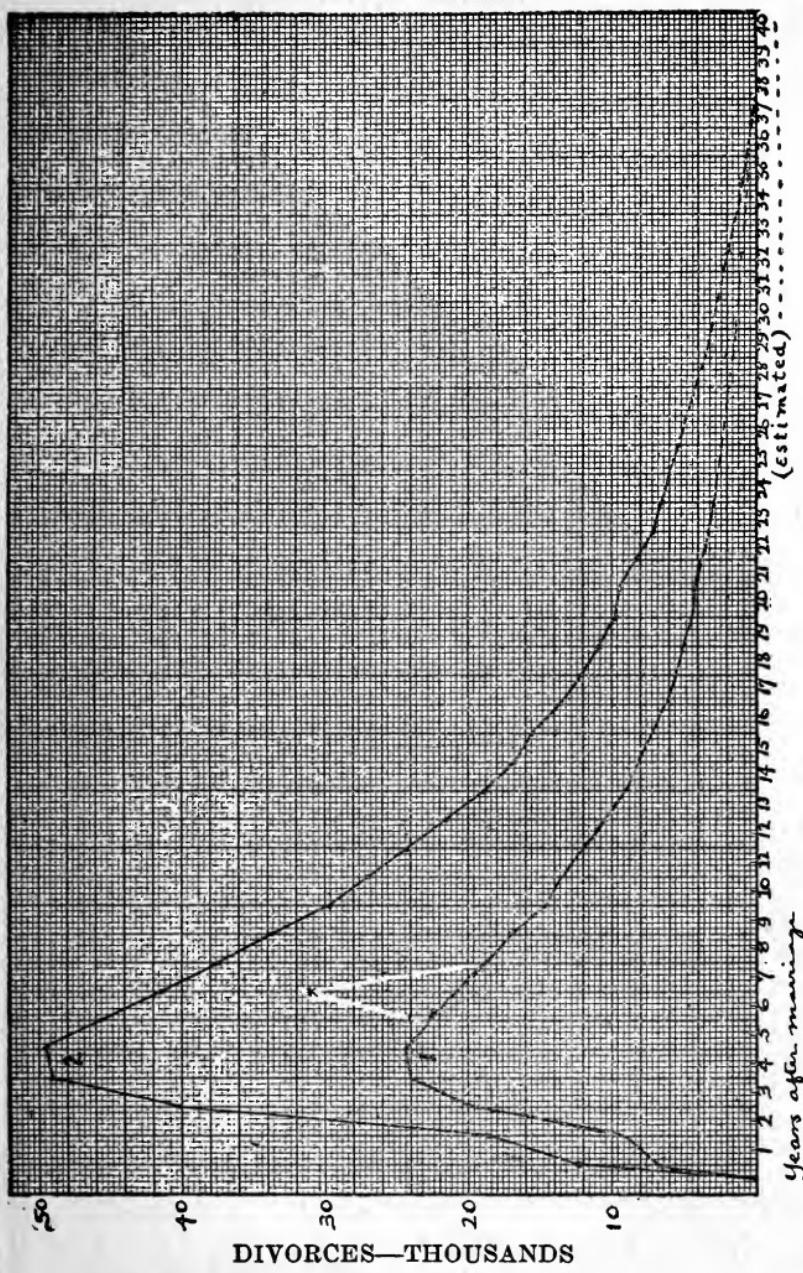
The growing disbelief in the religious theory of marriage unquestionably fosters divorce. The popular education of people in matters of law, and especially into taking advantage of those relating to dissolution of marriage, doubtless

*I am indebted for this pictogram to Mr. Geo. R. Davies, instructor in sociology and history in the University of North Dakota.

possesses some force. The recognition in law of more numerous grounds of divorce must have considerable productive force; as also does the laxness in administering divorce laws, though this has been exaggerated. Other factors contribute their influence, such as increasing industrialism with large populations living on insufficient incomes, rising cost and standard of living which strain family incomes to the breaking point, the existence of large city areas where vicious conditions obtain and sex matters are loose, the introduction of venereal infection into the family, chiefly by the husband, and the waning in many quarters of the family ideal. Dr. Morrow believes that venereal infection is a frequent cause of divorce, although it seldom appears in the court record as such for the obvious reason that few would care to be published as having been contaminated.

Legally, about 40 grounds of divorce are recognized, but the vast majority of divorces are granted for adultery, drunkenness, cruelty, desertion, and neglect to provide, though during the last 40 years there has been a tendency to increase the relative importance of the grounds which involve the less serious offenses. In the period 1902-1906, the percentage of all divorces granted for the five chief legal causes are as

PICTOGRAM II



Total number divorces granted in U. S., 1887-1906, showing years after marriage, and whether granted to husband (line 1) or wife (line 2).—

* Statistical abstract shows an error at this point.

From Statistical Abstract of U. S., 1911, p. 83.

follows: desertion, 38.5; cruelty, 23.5; adultery, 15.3; drunkenness, 3.9; neglect to provide, 3.8. Combination of the preceding causes represented 9 per cent and all other causes, 5.9 per cent. In the period 1867-71, adultery followed desertion as next to the leading cause. The largest gain made by any of these causes between 1902-1906 was that of cruelty to husbands, which increased in that time 1,609.8 per cent;* while the smallest rate of increase was for adultery on the part of husband, divorces on that ground growing but 237.1 per cent. More divorces were granted to husbands than to wives for the ground of adultery, the percentages being 59.1 and 40.9. It is likely this difference is largely due to the fact that adultery is condoned when practiced by men.

It is often asserted that remarriage is a very large motive towards securing divorce. The only statistics in the United States touching this issue are gathered in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Maine. They indicate that a somewhat larger proportion of divorced persons remarried in 1906 than 25 years earlier. Special qualifying conditions enter, however, and too much faith should not be placed on these facts. In those states

*This large per cent, however, is based on the occurrences of only a few such cases.

about 35 per cent of divorced persons remarry.

It has been asserted by high authorities that general postponement of marriage is a fruitful condition of divorce because habits and the consequent characters are well crystallized by the age of thirty, and those who marry are more likely to clash, whereas those who marry early are able to mould their characters relative to each other. As has been shown already in this chapter, marriage is occurring earlier, generally. Some groups are marrying later, doubtless, but they are the ones in which higher education and discipline prevail. Persons of these groups, by reason of their maturity and control, are the less likely to separate except in those instances where the occupation puts a premium on personal vanity and gratification. Millions are marrying before they are mature in judgment, mating on the call of passing impulse, soon disagreeing and divorcing. Pictogram II indicates that divorce sets in in the first year of married life and reaches its maximum rate in the fourth year, a situation we might expect in the face of so many child and youthful marriages. The Court of Domestic Relations in Chicago finds juvenile marriage is a most fruitful occasion of divorce.

How far divorce is an evil and to what degree it is a benefit is a debatable question. To those

who believe in the religious sanctity of marriage and that the state should leave marriage matters to the church, all divorce, save a minimum granted by the church, is bad. To others who think that marriage and the family are social institutions to be regulated as are other institutions by civil agencies, the abuses arising in connection with divorce are bad, but divorce in itself is good. Without stopping to discuss that now, let us turn to the effect loose divorce is likely to produce.

In discussing divorce it is necessary to divest ourselves of older theories of the nature of marriage and remember that marriage is sociological in nature. It is an institution established by society through ages of evolution, as we have abundantly seen in previous chapters, the essential function of which is to perpetuate society by reproducing, first, fit physical organisms, and second, well equipped social members. A concomitant function is to secure the happiness and well-being of the adults through the privileges and comforts of family life. The highest interests of society are secured when the family is sanitary and bodily sound, when the offspring are duly socialized so as to be able to fill their places in society, and when there is loyal cooperation between husband and wife. Divorce must

be inspected, then, relative to its effects on children and on parents.

First, an appreciation of the function of parents relative to children enables us to realize that where parents are separated so that the offspring enjoy the love and care of but one parent, they have lost one of the greatest benefits of life. The care and influence of both father and mother are needful to a proper nourishing and disciplining of children. Juvenile courts bear abundant testimony to the efficacy of weak parental control and decadent home life in producing delinquency. Professor Charles A. Ellwood secured information from 34 reform schools and four juvenile courts relative to delinquency and separation of parents. He found that out of the 7,575 children in the former, 29.6 per cent came from families in which there had been divorce or desertion; 35.03 per cent from families in which either father or mother were dead. Including a considerable per cent of cases which overlap these first two cases, the per cent of children in reform schools coming from homes demoralized by drink, vice, or crime, was 38.05 per cent. Four thousand two hundred seventy-eight juvenile court children show a percentage of 23.7 whose parents were separated and 27.8, one or both parents of whom were

dead. Out of 687 such children in St. Louis in 1909 at least 400 had not both parents living at home. Thirty-two institutions for dependent children whose professed policy was to take destitute children, whether orphans or not, showed that out of 3,595 children, 24.7 per cent were from families in which there had been desertion or divorce, while only 47.5 per cent were either orphans or half orphans. Thus it is seen that from 50 to 75 per cent of these classes of children emanate from conditions in which one or both parents are missing. It can hardly be gainsaid that the absent parental factor directly or indirectly affects the situation.

Of course where there are no children in the home, as we found is the case in about 40 per cent of divorces, the evil effects arising from separation, if any, are not directed toward offspring.

The discussion of the effects of divorce and separation on the husband and wife hinges on settling the question of whether or not they would be better off living together or apart, conditions in the divorce being as they are. The following propositions may be briefly made. First, where there are children in the home, and where it is a case of incompatibility only, it is the duty of parents to live together if at all

possible, until the children are duly reared. Since they have brought children into the world and become responsible for them, they should sink personal happiness to the maximum possible extent in order to discharge that responsibility. Second, where personal purity, as in the case of the presence of venereal disease, and conjugal fidelity, as in the case of adultery, are the issue, separation would appear to be the better course; although in the latter case exceptions should be made, dependent on parties and conditions. So far there probably would be a large measure of agreement. In the case of cruelty, 83 per cent of which men are responsible for, where it is really severe, it is unreasonable to expect human nature will bear with it. The presence in the home of a really cruel parent is little conducive even to the nurture of offspring. Fortunately, for the period 1887-1906, 47.3 per cent of all cases of divorce on the ground of cruelty involved no children. But 48.9 per cent of divorces secured by wives on the ground of cruelty did involve children, which may indicate an attempt on the part of mothers to protect the children, as it is 7.8 per cent above the average for this cause in which children were represented. The case of drunkenness is similar. Husbands were offenders in 90.6 per cent of divorces on

that ground, while 55.1 per cent of divorces granted to wives on this charge involved children. In an age where drunkenness represents bestiality, its confirmed practice warrants separation and divorce. Moreover, its concomitants are likely to be most undesirable virtues. Neglect to provide is almost solely a woman's ground for divorce, but 6 divorces in a total of 316,149 issued to men between 1887 and 1906 being given on that ground, 5 of which reported children. As compared with other fundamental grounds, it is unimportant, representing but 3.7 per cent of the total divorces issued. The husband is even yet the almost sole support of the wife and children. If he voluntarily fails in this, he does not justify his function and the wife is justified in obtaining release, especially where she is called upon to support him and to rear the family at the same time. In 49.1 per cent of all divorces granted to wives on the ground of unsupport, children are involved.

It would appear that desertion could but issue in divorce on any just sociological basis. Separation ensues, anyway, and it is often better that a divorce should be granted and that the innocent party be allowed to remarry. This may secure a measure of justice for the husband or wife offended against, and provide a home for

the children. About one-third of all divorces granted to wives in the period 1887-1906 were on the ground of desertion, and but 7.9 per cent of these were contested; while nearly one-half of those granted to husbands was for desertion, of which 11.4 per cent were contested. This indicates that the ground was generally warranted. Children were involved in but 23.4 per cent of cases of divorce for desertion granted to husbands and in 43.9 per cent of such divorces granted to wives.

Remedies proposed for the "divorce evil" must rest on the recognition of certain things. First, the right of the state on the part of society to exercise final control of marital matters. This means that a return to the religious theory and ecclesiastical control of marriage is impossible. Marriage is a civil contract, whatever else it may be, and society cannot afford to relinquish its interest in the matter and hand it over to any partial organization. Second, the inevitableness of divorce in an age of transition in general and of human emancipation in particular. It must be viewed as a symptom of social change, a freeing of both men and women from a system of conventional and often immoral restraint. When individuals are seeking a larger liberty in every field of action and life

it is inevitable that abuses shall arise. To check this movement is quite impossible without stifling modern science and industry, the springs of progress and civilization. To cure divorce can only be done by getting back to the conditions which produce it along with many other modern evils.

The lines of rectification would appear to lie in the following directions: First, minimize and remove the present abuses in divorce by securing better divorce laws. Uniform divorce legislation such as has been proposed by the Congress on Uniform Laws would remove certain abuses but would not remove divorce. It would, no doubt, lessen the number granted. It recognizes seven grounds for the annulment of marriage and six for divorce, the latter being adultery, bigamy, two years' imprisonment for crime, extreme cruelty, willful desertion for two years, and habitual drunkenness for two years. It recognizes absolute divorce, and that from bed and board. A decree of *nisi* is issued in the case of the former; to become absolute at the expiration of a year unless appealed or otherwise ordered by the court. Divorce from bed and board may consist in a decree of separation forever, or for a limited time, the latter revocable after application of the parties interested upon reconcili-

ation. Bona fide residence in the state is required of applicants, and notification of the defendant is sought to be secured. This latter requirement is necessary since divorce is considerably reduced where defendants receive notice. To the provisions of this law should be added a regulation prohibiting remarriage within a certain time, say a year or two. Further, the law should provide for parental responsibility of the children where such exist, the court of domestic relations or other court to determine which parent is to be responsible at the time of the decree.

Second, the establishment of special courts of domestic relations which shall have sole jurisdiction over applications for annulment or divorce. The Chicago and New York courts have demonstrated the efficacy of such courts to prevent divorce, frequently by securing a reconciliation between husband and wife, and to improve family conditions. These courts should be copied in all the states.

Third, the greatest remedial agency consists in reforming marriage rather than divorce. Hasty and ill-advised marriages are the most fruitful cause of divorces. The foremost students of divorce are agreed in this. They are also agreed that recourse must be had to educa-

tion of our young people into the functions of marriage and the duties of parents in order to bring due relief. This is the work of the home, the church, and especially the schools. It is a part of the great task of social hygiene which society must take up. Matters of marriage and family should be taught as a part of preparation for life. Their social significance and their ethical nature must be inculcated. A choice of life mates with eyes open to the meaning of life and the possibilities of happiness, and service based on a well placed affection, will increase the security of married life and reduce divorce appellates.

4. The Social Evil

The social evil broadly treated represents sexual immorality and sexual disease in all forms. Prostitution is peculiar to the higher stages of social evolution. It did not exist in savage times but was introduced in the course of barbarism. So long as women were regarded as chattels there was no call for professional women. In medieval times prostitution was regarded as a necessity, a form of moral protection of society, and the state and city engaged procurers to keep up the supply of immoral women. This belief still lingers in certain communities and nations,

although they do not engage in procuring women and girls for the trade.

How widespread vice is it is difficult to state. Statistics are not kept by any communities of more than the registered prostitutes, and in such communities these represent a minimum of all fast women. The Chicago Vice Commission made a conservative estimate that there are five thousand professional prostitutes in that city. But various estimates place the number at from 25,000 to 30,000. Likewise several estimates of prostitution in New York City closely agree that there are about 40,000 women professionally or casually engaged in it. Estimates for London range from 40,000 to 50,000; for Berlin, from 30,000 to 40,000; and for Paris, 30,000. Smaller cities contribute their quota. Rough estimates which assign one prostitute to about 15 men enable us to form a conception of how the evil radiates. But, it is to be remembered that the extensive prostitution of great cities is chiefly due, not to male residents, but to visitors and transients.

Prostitution affects the family in several ways. It lowers the moral tone of the community in which it exists, particularly if it receives public recognition and regulation. It is the fountain head of venereal diseases which enter the family,

contaminate wives, produce repugnance, dissension, and separation, render women barren, produce abortions, and impose hereditary diseases on the children which live. It is an especial affliction to the section of the city in which it is allowed to exist, making vice a common fact of life and inviting the youth of both sexes into its practice.

To get at its removal it is necessary to know its producing conditions. The vice commissions of Chicago, Minneapolis, and Portland, and the special investigation into prostitution made by the United States Department of Commerce and Labor agree that while industrial conditions are prolific secondary or ultimate factors, the fact that multitudes of women receive starvation wages and yet lead moral lives proves that other causes operate. The special government investigation finds little direct connection between occupation and prostitution, but traces higher professional prostitution back to home and neighborhood conditions of vice and immorality. It adds the factor of abnormality and weak wills in many individuals of the lower professionals and casual prostitutes. It found that domestic service callings and home conditions were the most fruitful sources of the life. Special vicious situations in childhood, lack of discipline and

training and the temptations the young worker is subject to either in or in connection with the occupation are the greatest sources of the fall. Many conditions in society exist which are contributing factors, such as ignorance of sexual matters, unregulated dance halls, amusements and drinking places, white slavery traffic, debauchery of little girls, vicious lodging houses, and even public schools in some instances. Low wages are the background, which failing to furnish women with comforts and luxuries, drive those who are ignorant, weak, and undisciplined to gain them by occasional or habitual vice.

Venereal disease is widespread, but because of its hidden nature it evades statistics. Some perception of its widespread existence, however, may be gained from certain statements: Norway, under a compulsory system of reporting venereal diseases by doctors, which, of course, secures cognizance of only part of the cases, shows from 10 to 15 cases per 1,000 population annually for Christiania during the period of years 1879-1898, two-fifths of which were gonorrhoeal and over three-tenths syphilitic. The rate for the whole of Norway ranged from 3.55 in 1882 to 2.14 per 1,000 population in 1889. Nations that have compulsory military service for all males are a gauge of the presence of

the "Black Plague." In the period 1881-86, the rates per 1,000 men in the following nations were as follows: Germany, 35.1; France, 58.2; Austria, 73.6; Italy, 102.9. In 1891-96 they were as follows for these nations: 29.1; 56.7; 61.0; 84.9. Neisser estimates that gonorrhoea represents 75 per cent or more, and syphilis from 5 to 18 per cent of all male diseases in the United States. Noeggreath calculates that 80 per cent of married men in New York City have or have had gonorrhoea, from which wives are probably infected. Dr. Morrow states that 70 per cent of all his women patients suffering from syphilitic infection were respectable married women who had been diseased by their husbands. Further, it is estimated that from 1.5 to 3 per cent of all venereal infection is due to extra-genital sources.

The deadly effect of these diseases will indicate their vital influence on the family. Dr. Morrow believes that one-eighth of all disease and suffering is due to this source. Moreover, the incidence of such diseases falls on the young during the active and productive period of life. The danger to innocent members of society is enormous. "Eighty per cent of the deaths from inflammatory diseases peculiar to women, 75 per cent of all special surgical operations performed on women, and over 60 per cent of

all the work done by specialists in diseases of women are the result of infection of innocent women. Moreover, 50 per cent or more of these infected women are rendered irremediably sterile, and many are condemned to life-long invalidism." The dangers to offspring are great and disastrous. All grades of society are subject to them. Eighty per cent of the ophthalmia which produces blindness in babies, and 20 to 35 per cent of all blindness come from gonococcus infection. Murderous mortality of offspring comes from syphilis. European data indicate that 60-61 per cent of cases in private practice and 84-86 per cent in hospitals, especially visited by prostitutes, entail death. Fournier gives a table of families in which 216 births were followed by 183 deaths, and another in which 157 births were succeeded by 157 deaths of offspring. Further, syphilis is hereditary and passes its effects to the third generation of those that live. Gonorrhoea is not hereditary but wields an even greater depopulating effect. Neisser thinks it causes 45 per cent of involuntary sterility, and in 80 sterile marriages Kehrer found that 45 were caused by inflammatory and other changes—all of gonorrhoeal origin. These figures are for absolute sterility. But its greatest effect is to produce one-child

sterility. When it is remembered further that insanity, feeble-mindedness, and other abnormal effects are entailed by venereal infection, its deadly results become all the more apparent.

The cure for the social evil is not in countenancing and segregating it. Regulation does not regulate, as experience in European and American cities proves. Regulation means recognition of its right to exist on the part of the public and government. Every system of registration, sequestration, and inspection has broken down. Berlin has 10,000 prostitutes under surveillance by the police and 30,000 more at large. So far as statutory enactment and governmental action relative to it goes, it must be on the basis of absolute prohibition. There is no dissent from this on the part of vice commissions. Many of their members began their work believers in segregation and regulation. Their investigations uniformly converted them to the position of prohibition as the only right and feasible governmental attitude. It is also noteworthy that medical men are more and more coming to this position.

Instruction in sexual hygiene is coming to be viewed as imperative. Boys and girls must be taught the nature and function of sex, the right care of themselves, the awful perils that await

the patrons of vice. This should be the work of the home, but in default of parents who are prepared to give the proper instruction, the schools must respond and carry on the work. This should be done in a sympathetic, yet scientific, manner. Moreover, an appeal must be made to the moral nature and a higher and stronger self-control and personal discipline secured. This is a work, not for the prudish, conventional moralist, but for the trained expert who loves humanity and sympathizes with the temptations and trials of youth.

Social conditions generally stand in need of regulation so that special temptations and pitfalls shall be removed, and the grounds of necessity to practice vice to secure a decent living be eliminated. The public regulation of amusement, recreation, and dance halls, and the provision of healthful forms of recreation and sport are essentials of a constructive program of reform. A minimum wage for working girls and women is a necessary factor in this work. Further, the elimination of vicious conditions in lodging houses where working girls live must be secured.

CHAPTER V

BIOLOGICAL PHASES OF SEX AND THE FAMILY

BIОLOGICAL factors intrude themselves into the institution of the family in a most profound manner. The primary relation of husband and wife in the exercise of the reproductive function is purely a physiological one. The division of labor which obtains normally between man and woman in carrying on the life work of the domestic institution was originally determined by the demands which arose as a result of the differences of sex. As bearer and nurturer of the child primitive woman was compelled to be relatively sedentary, an attendant, and functionary of the camp because of the child. The man, unfettered by infant dependents, was free to travel far from camp in quest of game and in the execution of his militant duties of protector. Likewise in modern times, because of relief from childbearing and nurturing, his division of labor has lain principally outside the home, while that of the woman has chiefly followed the lines established by her primitive and prehistoric prototype.

The view that the male is the central and the

more essential factor in human affairs is as old as recorded history. Long before the time of scientific biologic conceptions the notion was dominant that man is the center and head of the social order. It was held that he dominated in life matters because of innate superiority. When the science of biology arose it was natural that this conception should have been incorporated into its doctrines. But in recent years another philosophy of the relative importance of the sexes has been proposed which reverses the order biologically, and further explains man's leading role in society as due to artificial conditions; that is, to those which have arisen as a consequence of social evolution. This new view has been appropriated by members of the "feminist" movement, and used as a justification of universal sex equality. Since this theory, in large measure, involves the biological history of the sexes, it is important that it be examined.

Again the question arises as to whether the family is purely a biological matter, whether it has arisen solely for the convenience of the mating sexes, or whether it has other promoting causes. The earlier chapters of this volume, together with this one, furnish data for arriving at a conclusion relative to this question.

Lastly, the family institution is closely related to the issues involved in the increase of population, the determination of sex, and the improvement of the physical stock. Each of these items is closely linked with important problems of the present day.

1. The Appearance of Sex

A discussion of the origin of sex is difficult for the layman, as are many other phases of the biological history of sex. Many of these matters are still unsettled and their discussion is technical and extensive. Yet it is safe to say that sex is a somewhat late innovation in the evolution of life forms. This is obvious if we make a distinction in the mode of reproduction, as is the common practice. That is, the earlier mode of reproduction was asexual; the later one, sexual. Thomson says that the feature common to the ordinary forms of asexual multiplication is that "reproduction is independent of eggs or sperms, or any process comparable to fertilization." He also states that "although we can no longer say that unicellular organisms are without sexual reproduction, since many exhibit the liberation of special reproductive units and the occurrence of amphimixis, we may still say that, apart from transitional forms (like

volvox, which form colonies, or ‘bodies’ of one thousand to ten thousand cells), there is among the unicellulars only the beginning of the important distinction between somatic or bodily and germinal or reproductive material, which distinguishes multicellular organisms. This makes a notable distinction.” (*Heredity*, pp. 34, 36). A brief exposition of the methods of reproduction will help to make this clear.

The protozoa constitute the lowest forms of life, the world of single-cell animals. The method of multiplication of many of these creatures is that of segmentation. This process of division begins in what appears to be the active agent of the cell, namely, the nucleus. Gradually two nuclei develop from the original nucleus and new organisms are formed about them which finally separate, each constituting a complete protozoan. Prior to reproduction after this manner a conjugation between unrelated creatures commonly takes place. Just what is the significance of this, whether a mode of rejuvenation of the stock or a kind of fertilization, is in dispute. It seems safe to say that although scores of generations may take place without such conjugation the stock will ultimately deteriorate and die unless either such crossing is made or suitable nutritive conditions are main-

tained. Thus, conjugation and nourishment appear to be close equivalents in the lowest forms of life.

Some of the single-cell animals multiply by means of "spores." These are very small portions of the original form which are liberated and which develop into complete organisms. New creatures have also been grown from artificial cuttings. But in this case it is held that the fragment must have a representative of the various partners entering into the "organization" of the original being in order to develop.

Ascending in the scale of life it is found that in certain multicellular organisms multiplication is sexless. It takes place asexually by separation of gemmules, and by budding, as seen in fresh water sponges, polyps, and fresh water hydra; also in some worms and tunicates, the latter really being vertebrates. In some cases where asexual multiplication does not really occur, cut-off portions may, under suitable conditions, grow into mature individuals. Such is the case in the sponge, starfish, planarian worm, etc. Plants produce detachable buds. Mature individuals may be secured by means of slips and roots, such as in the case of strawberries and currants. Potatoes are grown from cuttings. Such instances show that little division of labor

in the body and slight differentiation between body and germ cells exist.

In higher multicellular animals germ plasm, spermatozoa, and ova are introduced. Real sex appears, the male possessing the sperm and the female the ovum. A junction of the two are necessary for reproduction. The ovum is supposed to furnish the food-yolk for the early development of the embryo. The sperm contributes the centrosome which is the active agent in the organization of the fertilized cell for further growth by subdivision. Both parents contribute to the organization which ensues by imparting chromatic material. But experiments of DeLage indicate that individuals may be produced without the presence of the nucleus and chromosomes of the ovum. On the other hand Loeb's experiments on the same kind of organisms, sea-urchins, show that they may be developed without the presence of the sperm, by supplying a 50 per cent solution of magnesium chloride and sea water. These experiments merely confirm "the general assumption that spermatozoon and ovum are completely equipped potential organisms." "When we consider the ovum and spermatozoon as two fully equipped potential individualities which unite to form the

beginning of a new individuality, we see more clearly how, on the one hand, there is a double likelihood of the essential specific characters being sustained, and how, on the other hand, there is every likelihood that the intermingling will lead indirectly, if not directly, to something new." (Thomson, *Heredity*, Chap. II.) The further development of the sexes of the higher forms of life from this stage on presents no new principle. Because of this, it requires no special treatment.

The view developed by Professor Lester F. Ward departs widely from the concept outlined above. In his opinion all life in the beginning and for some time after was exclusively female. "In all the different forms of asexual reproduction, from fission to parthenogenesis, the female may . . . be said to exist alone and perform all the functions of life including reproduction. In a word, life begins as female." However, he recognizes that initial life is really pre-sexual. How the male was evolved he summarizes as follows: "The manifest advantage of crossing strains and infusing into life elements that come from outside the organism, or even from a specialized organ of the same organism, was seized upon by natural selection, and a process was inaugurated that is called fertilization, first

through an organ belonging to the organism itself (hermaphroditism), and then by the detachment of this organ and its erection into an independent but miniature organism wholly unlike the primary one. This last was at first parasitic upon the primary organism, then complementary to it and carried about in a sac provided for the purpose. Its simplest form was a sac filled with spermatozoa in a liquid or gelatinous medium. . . . This fertilizing organ . . . was the primitive form of what subsequently developed into the male sex, the female sex being the organism proper, which remained practically unchanged. The remaining steps in the entire process consisted, therefore, in the subsequent modification and creation, as it were, of the male organism." Because the female constantly selected the form which best fitted her needs the shapeless sac "gradually assumes a definite form agreeing in general characteristics with that of the original organism. There is no other reason why the male should in the least resemble the female."

After the male had become an independent organism capable of carrying on fertilization functions, the esthetic tastes of the female and the competition among the males for the favor of the females, selected the most highly decorated and strongest males for reproductive pur-

poses. Thus, by the time the human stage was reached, males became equal to, and oftentimes "superior" to, the females.

But, before male dominance set in there existed a state of society or relationship between the sexes which Ward, following Bachofen, terms gynecocracy, or female rule. The evidence for this is based on the occurrence of amazonism, or militant feminism, the matriarchate, or metronymic, family, and the absence of a knowledge of the part the father played in fertilization, with the resulting absence of control of the offspring. Consequently it was a condition of female selection, a situation where the males had to sue for the favors of the females.

Then came the fall. "As it was brain development which alone made man out of an animal by enabling him to break over faunal barriers and overspread the globe, so it was brain development that finally suggested the causal nexus between fertilization and reproduction, and led to the recognition by man of his paternity and joint proprietorship with woman in the offspring of their loins. This produced a profound social revolution, overthrew the authority of woman, destroyed her power of selection, and finally reduced her to the condition of mere slave of the stronger sex, although that strength

had been conferred by her. . . . Throughout all human history woman has been discriminated against and held down by custom, law, literature, and public opinion. All opportunity has been denied her to make any trial of her powers in any direction. In savagery she was underfed, overworked, unduly exposed, and abused, so that in so far as these influences could be confined to one sex, they tend to stunt her physical and mental powers. During later ages her social ostracism has been so universal and complete that, whatever powers she may have had, it was impossible for her to make any use of them, and they have naturally atrophied and shriveled. Only during the last two centuries and in the most advanced nations, under the growing power of the sociogenetic energies of society, has some slight relief from her long thraldom been grudgingly and reluctantly vouchsafed. What a continued and increasing tendency in this direction will accomplish it is difficult to presage, but all signs are at present hopeful." (*Pure Sociology*, Chap. 14.)

The origin of sex is too much a mooted question to express a dogmatic opinion about it. However, it would appear that Ward takes too little cognizance of the conjugation which op-

erates among low forms of life. Moreover, he takes much of his evidence from animals, which are not ancestral forms of life relative to man. His position that originally the female was equal to, or superior to, the male as an organism, is evidently true. Also the most of what he says relative to the place of woman in social evolution is true. But it is probable that there was never a universal stage of gynecocracy or matriarchy such as he proposes, although among some peoples there was something akin to it; as for instance the strong influence in tribal matters exercised by the women among the Iroquois.

2. The Function of Sex

Sex undoubtedly is a device worked out by nature in a stumbling way but which at the same time secures the desirable result of multiplying the possibilities of improvement of the stock or race through variation. The lowest forms of life multiply themselves by self-division. Life runs in a cycle of a very narrow and identical kind. Millions of years may have elapsed before variations occurred which improved the stock and resulted in race progress. Conjugation, which takes place between individual organisms, seems to have for its function the rejuvenation

of the stock, since a change of the nutritive element secures the same result.

When sex in the true sense is introduced the possibilities of race evolution are enormously increased. The laws of heredity still obtain, but the hereditary elements which come together in the offspring of the union are derived from different and dissimilar stocks of individuals. The possibility of this is seen in the fact that each individual has two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, and sixteen in the fourth set of parents removed. Under the operation of inheritance, reversion to type occurs and the stirps from any one of the parents of the fourth generation removed from the offspring, has a possibility, according to Galton, of one-sixteenth of total possibilities of influencing the nature of the child. Although the exactitude of the Galtonian law has been questioned, the possibility of new combinations arising from uniting stirps from so many divergent directions is simply enormous. A good illustration of this is seen in the ethnological field. According to Deniker a race is a pure stock of people that in reproduction breeds pure. That is, stature, form of head, complexion, form and color of hair, color of eyes, and other bodily characters, would remain similar in offspring and

parent. The original races were of this nature. But intermingling of races and stocks with crossing of parent strains have so varied the peoples of the earth that scarcely a pure type exists to-day. Race strains and stock strains of most diverse characters are found in modern individuals. Variations in respect to all the bodily characteristics enumerated above take place. Other things being equal, improvement of the physical stock occurs by this procedure. Holmes has artistically represented the gradual mingling of the races during ethnological history and pictures the complete fusion of all the stocks of people and the disappearance of anything like distinct races in the somewhat distant future.

It must not be forgotten that heredity dominates in the process of variation. The influence of parentage is bound to be felt. The stirps that come down from the past to unite in the new creature are those from a race, a stock, a family. The new creature is bound to be much like the old. Even in stock breeding, where artificial selection governs the matter of pairing, heredity sets bounds. Bateson says that the part prophecy plays is small. "Variation leads; the breeder follows. The breeder's method is to notice a desirable novelty, and to work up

a stock of it, picking up other novelties in his course—for these genetic disturbances often spread—and we may rest assured the method of nature is not very different.” As Thomson says, from whose work this is quoted, “Let the believer in the efficacy of selection operating on continuous fluctuations try to breed a white or black rat from a pure strain of black-and-white rats by choosing for breeding the whitest or the blackest; or to raise a dwarf (‘Cupid’) sweet pea from a tall race by choosing the shortest. It will not work. Variation leads and selection follows.” (*Heredity*, p. 89.)

Intelligent selection, however, on the part of would-be parents may accomplish much both positively and negatively for the improvement of the human race. As a positive matter the woman or man desiring to mate has the power to choose a mate who has the characteristics of a good race stock. If mates are selected who have the advantage of size, strength, freedom from abnormalities in form and physiognomy, and of mental ability, the assurance is warranted that the offspring which may issue from the mating will be adequate for the undertakings of life. On the other hand, security for the offspring may be attained negatively by avoiding

mating with persons having diseased, abnormal, or undesirable characteristics. Most characteristics are transmitted directly from parents to offspring, and an examination of the candidate for marriage will usually reveal the defect and be sufficient to prevent undesirable results. Others may lie back in the parentage and, though not affecting the present individuals who mate, may use them as a means of transmission. Defects of many bodily structures are transmissible and evidence of this may be found in works on eugenics and genetics. It is fairly certain that feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, and certain phases of insanity, narcotism, syphilis, and of criminality, are inheritable. The reader will find these amply treated in the class of works just mentioned. Further, the effects of venereal diseases are not confined to the first generation, but often visit terrible afflictions upon those who follow. Nothing short of a bill of health based upon physical examination is sufficient to protect the integrity of the race from the scourges which now afflict humanity.

3. Nature of Sex Differences

It is obvious that the sexes are different. Not only do they vary in matters of height, weight, size of head, form and proportion of

body, functions and organs of reproduction, and in many other physical particulars, but there appears to be some grounds for declaring that they are dissimilar in physical respects. Whatever the cause and permanency of many of the physical characteristics peculiar to each sex, it can hardly be doubted that some of the present psychic differences have sprung out of past social conditions. Thus, all or most of the seeming mental inferiority of women, together with the so-called character of indirection, undoubtedly arose out of the fact that for untold centuries woman occupied the position of a dependent relative to man. Any failure to be interested in man's world and affairs, her small showing in the world of achievement, her dominant interest in domestic and social matters have their explanation in her almost complete severance from the world of affairs, even to this day. Where there is no responsibility for carrying on the world's external work, it is useless to expect a high mental ability in those directions. And the fact of dependence is sufficient to account for woman's methods of indirection. Not being able to decide issues on their merit, because of the arbitrary course of the master to whom all property and civil rights belonged, she has been forced to accomplish her purposes by the subtle

manipulation of her over-lord. Woman's so-called "peculiar" characters, instead of being inherent and innate, are quite a matter of social heredity, having been handed down through the line of daughters in an imitative manner.

On the other hand it can hardly be doubted that there is a fundamental psychical difference between the sexes which arises from their divergent reproductive natures. That woman should always and everywhere manifest an interest in all matters that concern children immeasurably greater than the interest shown by man should be expected in consideration of her reproductive functions. The child's long period of incubation in her body, its suckling from her breasts, its absolute dependence on her for care during several years, have created a special and intense psychical constitution relative to child affairs that can only be fitly denoted by the term maternal.

In so far as the distinctions between the sexes are biological in origin and nature the question arises as to whether they are primary or secondary. That is, whether they are inherent in the very constitution of sex or whether they have appeared as incidents in the evolution of the sexes. A discussion and decision of this question does not involve and pronounce on the

"inferiority" of woman. She might be inferior in strength, activity, size, and other respects, and yet be equal or superior to her male consort. The relation of the sexes and their position in society must be placed on a functional and an adaptative basis and the merits of the two must be viewed in that light. If there appears to be a biologic and sociologic division of labor, and the woman is as well adapted to carry on her natural functions as man is to exercise his, she evidently cannot in any sense be regarded as inferior. To pronounce her inferior, when she executes the functions to which she is adapted would be as illogical as to assert that the linotype machine is inferior to the locomotive.

Whether the physical characteristics of the sexes are constitutional or not is a large and complicated question. All parties are agreed that the reproductive organs and functions are primordial. The other characteristics which were called by Charles Darwin secondary sexual characteristics are matters of dispute. On these at least two general views are held.

Darwin believed that natural selection accounts for the evolution of the various forms of life in the vegetable and animal world, and that sexual selection explains the secondary differ-

ences between the sexes of plants and animals, including human beings. That the male human being is larger, taller, stronger, heavier, he believed to be due to the operation of the selective process exercised by the females during the ages past in choosing mates, together with that of the law of battle obtaining among males. Women, by exercising a preference for mates that were strongest, most active, most decorated with hair, have placed a premium on that type of man and have chosen to mate and breed with such. Consequently, successive generations of males have responded by more and more approximating those characters. Hence, men have differentiated from women in those particulars. Such characteristics are, therefore, not original and primordial, but somewhat incidental and secondary. They may also and consequently be modified. Such is not the case with the primary distinctions of sex. This, in brief, was Darwin's theory, the one that most commonly is held.

In recent years a new theory has grown up and is gaining in acceptance. Wallace, the colleague of Darwin in the statement and proof of evolution by natural selection, dissented from Darwin's position that sexual selection accounted for the divergences between man and woman.

Instead he made certain criticisms and suggested that the dissimilarities were so deep that they can only be primary in nature.

More recently Geddes and Thomson have developed the primordial constitutional theory and given it support by a vast array of facts. Other writers have contributed in the same direction. It is believed that the so-called secondary sexual characters have been merely the expression of primordial constitutional differences. Metabolism—that is protoplasmic changes that go on constantly in all organic bodies—is common to man and woman. But this metabolism is of two kinds, namely, anabolic or constructive, and katabolic or destructive. Metabolism of the constructive and conserving kind characterizes the female. In her the building up process tends to exceed the tearing down process. The male, on the other hand, is more dominantly anabolic. He tends to use up energy, to dissipate it. Woman, as a consequence, is more conservative in the expenditure of her forces, is steadier, more patient, more enduring in the things she does. Man is inclined to run into excesses of expenditure, particularly in his earlier period, takes great spurts with intermittent slumps, is less passive than woman and more active. Hence, Geddes and Thomson say: “The life-ratio of

anabolic to katabolic changes, A:K, in the female is normally greater than the corresponding life-ratio, a:k, in the male. This, for us, is the fundamental, the physiological, the constitutional difference between the sexes; and it becomes expressed from the very outset in the contrast between their essential reproductive elements, and may be traced on into the more superficial secondary sexual characters."

Should readers desire to have the evidence for the above theories they will find Darwin's facts in his *Descent of Man*, Part II, which deals with sexual selection; Geddes and Thomson in their *Evolution of Sex* present much evidence of the other theory; and Professor Thomas, in his *Sex and Society*, Chap. I, has collected from all directions and summarized facts in its support. It must be said that there is much to commend in the constitutional theory. It falls in line with what we ought to expect in consideration of the specialized reproductive function of females among all child-bearing animals. It also touches the matter of nutrition, as all the evidence in support of it so abundantly shows. Nutrition and reproduction are closely associated. Reproduction makes enormous demands on females. This is shown by the difference in specific gravity of the blood of man and woman. In woman

this change in specific gravity is related to the reproductive period. It is less than that in man up to about the age of 55, equals his during the next ten years, and is greater after that. Her energy, which is represented in the hemoglobin of her blood, the latter deciding the specific gravity of the blood, is consumed by the drain made during the period of reproduction. This process calls for a conservative and constructive metabolism. Hence woman and other females are anabolic, conserving of their energy which is gained through nutrition, perhaps more responsive to nutritive changes than males, because their physiological division of labor demands it.

4. Sex Determination

In recent scientific books two new theories of determining the sex of the offspring have appeared. One of these is based on the operation of gravity during the process of copulation, the other on the application of *adrenalin*. These are but samples of theories numbering above five hundred which have been proposed for the determination of sex. Since so many ways have been suggested and probably not more than one can be true it would appear that the subject is one of much doubt.

The theory that sex is determined by the amount and quality of nutrition is one of the most favored theories. Experiments on developing tadpoles, bees, and many other forms of life have been made. Those on tadpoles may be used illustratively. I quote Geddes and Thomson: "Adopting the view stated by Yung, we shall simply state the striking results of one series of observations. When the tadpoles were left to themselves, the percentage of females was rather in the majority. In three lots the proportion of females to the males was as follows: 54:46; 61:39; and 56:44. The average number of females was thus about 57 in the hundred. In the first brood, by feeding one set with beef, Yung raised the percentage of females from 54 to 78; in the second, with fish, the percentage rose from 61 to 81; while in the third set, when the flesh of frogs was supplied, the percentage rose from 56 to 92. That is to say, in the last case the result of altered diet was that there were 92 females to 8 males. From the experience and carefulness of the observer, these striking results are entitled to great weight."*

It is a long journey in the evolutionary series from tadpoles to man, yet the authorities just

* Geddes and Thomson, *The Evolution of Sex*, pp. 45-6.

quoted are inclined to believe that the same holds true respecting the latter. They say: "Ploss may be mentioned as an authority who has emphasized this factor in *homo*. Statistics seem to show that after an epidemic or a war the male births are in a greater majority than is usually the case. Düsing also points out that females with small placenta and little menstruation bear more males, and contends that the number of males varies with the harvest and prices. In towns, and in prosperous families, there seem to be more females, while males are more numerous in the country and among the poor." But Geddes and Thomson recognize that other factors than nutrition enter into sex-determination, and they connect the latter with their theory of sex difference which was expositcd in the immediately preceding section. Such factors as heat, light, moisture, enter into the situation. We will hear their conclusions:

"Such conditions as deficient or abnormal food, high temperature, deficient light, moisture, and the like, are such as tend to induce a preponderance of waste over repair—a *relatively katabolic* habit of body—and these conditions tend to result in the production of *males*. Similarly, the opposed set of factors, such as an abundant and rich nutrition, abundant light and

moisture, favor constructive processes; i. e., make for a *relatively anabolic* habit, and these conditions tend to result in the production of *females*. With some element of uncertainty, we may also include the influence of the age and physiological prime of either sex, and of the period of fertilization. But the general conclusion is tolerably secure—that in the determination of sex, influences inducing a relative predominance of katabolism tend to result in production of males, as those favoring a relative predominance of anabolism similarly increase the probability of females.”*

This theory takes us into the controversy over the question whether or not the germ plasm may be influenced by external conditions. This is close to the problem of the transmission of acquired characters, but it is not identical with it. That the germ plasm should be influenced by the transfusion of the nutrition of the body so that the reproductive elements are determined as to their sexual structure is a far different matter from passing on a scar or skill through their agency. Says Thomson, in his *Heredity*, “the case does not do more than show that the

* Geddes and Thomson, *The Evolution of Sex*, pp. 53, 55.

gonads (germ glands) are reachable by somatic influences, which no biologist has ever denied."

It is interesting to note that one of the two collaborators and expositors of the above theory has moved away from it toward the other theory of sex determination which we shall notice. His statement forms a real connection between the two. Referring to the earlier position he had held he says: "In some cases it still seems legitimate to believe that external conditions may have a role in sex determination, but in many cases further experiment has invalidated results previously accepted. More and more it seems being proved that the sex is fixed in the fertilized ovum or earlier, and it is difficult to verify any hypothesis as to the conditions of determination at this early stage." Since the proportion of male and female births throughout is quite constant, the mean being 1,060 males to 1,000 females, and since "about 30 per cent of ordinary twins are of different sexes, while identical (monochorial) twins—surrounded by one foetal membrane or chorion, and almost certainly developed from one ovum—are always of identical sex," it is apparent that external conditions have little to do in sex-determination, and that this takes place in the fertilized ovum.

Sex-determination, then, may depend either on "a number of minute and variable factors," or upon heredity. What the latter means is that there is an abiding ratio between the sexes, which probably is somewhat different race by race; and that sex is determined in the fertilized ovum by means of some sort of a compromise between the parental factors which enter into the situation. (*Heredity*, J. Arthur Thomson, pp. 205 and 500-504.) We now pass on to what may be called the chance theory, which various cytologists at the present time support. Mr. Charles B. Davenport has embodied it in his work on eugenics, and Professor Walter in his *Genetics*.

On the subject of sex-determination, Davenport indicates that it is necessary to study the offspring of human marriage. He says: "Now marriage can be and is looked at from many points of view. In novels, as the climax of human courtship; in law, largely as a union of two lines of property descent; in society, as fixing a certain status; but in eugenics, which considers its biological aspect, marriage is an experiment in breeding; and the children, in their varied combinations of characters, give the result of the experiment. That marriage should be only an *experiment* in breeding, while the breeding of many animals and plants has been

reduced to a science, is a ground for reproach. Surely the human product is superior to that of poultry; and as we may now predict with precision the characters of the offspring of a particular pair of pedigreed poultry, so may it some time be with man. As we now know how to make almost any desired combination of the characters of the guinea-pigs, chickens, wheats, and cottons, so may we hope to do with man." (*Heredity in Relation to Eugenics*, p. 7.)

The transmission of sex must take place by means of the mechanism by which other characteristics are conveyed. What are known as unit characters lie at the basis of this. Traits are handed down from generation to generation through the sperm and ovum. These combine in the fertilized ovum and determine that the offspring is to be of a given species or sex. "The resulting characteristics are determined by chemical substances in the fertilized egg. It is because of certain chemical and physical differences in two fertilized eggs that one develops into an ox and the other into a man. The differences may be called *determiners*." (Same, p. 10.)

Unit characters are closely connected with transmitting traits. Illustrations of unit characters would be brown eyes, blue eyes, straight

hair, curly hair, epilepsy, insanity, and so on. Each character is simple and is transmitted as a unit. Unit characters are transmitted by means of what are known as determiners. These determiners reside in the germ plasm of the reproductive organs, namely, in the sperm of the male and the egg of the female. Since the germ plasms are isolated away from the bodily structure at large, many of the characters of the latter do not influence them. Thus mutilations made on the body and skill attained by it are not transmissible because they do not act on the germ plasms. But since the germ cells, in common with bodily cells, are nourished by the blood, poor conditions of the blood may affect them. They may be pauperized by lack of nutrition, and what is known as "race poisons" might ensue. While the presence of characters in the body does not always prove that their determiners are present, their absence generally indicates that the determiners are not present.

Each of the germ cells contains a nucleus which is the organizing part of the cell in matters of growth. The nucleus, in turn, contains chromosomes, which appear to be its real active portion. These chromosomes, or certain of them, are thought to bear the determiners. Hence, unit characters, those of sex included among

their number, are handed down by means of the chromosomes.

But whether the resulting offspring will be male or female appears to be a matter of chance. Each kind of sex-cell possesses what are known as **X** chromosomes. These are regarded as "sex-chromosomes." One half of the mature male cells have these, the other half do not. On the other hand, all the mature female sex-cells bear such "sex-chromosomes." When a sperm and an ovum, each possessing **X** chromosomes, unite in fertilization, the fertilized egg will develop into a female. But when a sperm without this **X** chromosome fertilizes an egg, the issue is a male. Hence it may be said that the presence of two determiners produces a female and that of but one a male. (Davenport, *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics*, Chap. 2; Walter, *Genetics*, Chap. 10.)

This theory has been attested by various groups of facts of a demonstrative nature. Its positivity is, of course, dependent on verification. The theory is held by men like Loeb, Davenport, Walter, and other well-known authorities. Walter in his *Genetics*, presents three lines of data which are believed to prove its certainty. It would appear, therefore, that this theory of sex-determination is no longer a mere hypothesis.

A comprehension of this theory demonstrates that all efforts on the part of parents to regulate the sex of desired offspring must prove abortive. For, according to our present knowledge, the mechanism of determination is beyond the reach of artifice. There appears to be no means of so influencing the X chromosomes that they shall combine in the exact proportion which results in either male or female as desired.

5. Summary

The importance of sex and sex-differences in the problems of the family and society warrants a scientific treatment of sex in order that its nature and influence may be understood. We have discovered the following facts relative to it: First, it is probable that sex-differences and sex itself do not exist in the lowest forms of life, but are introduced at the time when reproduction of the young by means of special sex organs begins to occur. Previous to this the members of a species were alike. Afterward, they were distinguished as male and female. This stage of development was not specifically and universally reached until higher forms of animals and vegetation appeared.

Ward's theory that males are the result of the development of females, having been differentiated from their appended fertilizing organs,

is ingenious but probably erroneous. His explanation of the subordination of woman, however, by reason of the superior strength of man, and because of woman's limitations due to child-bearing, is unquestionably true.

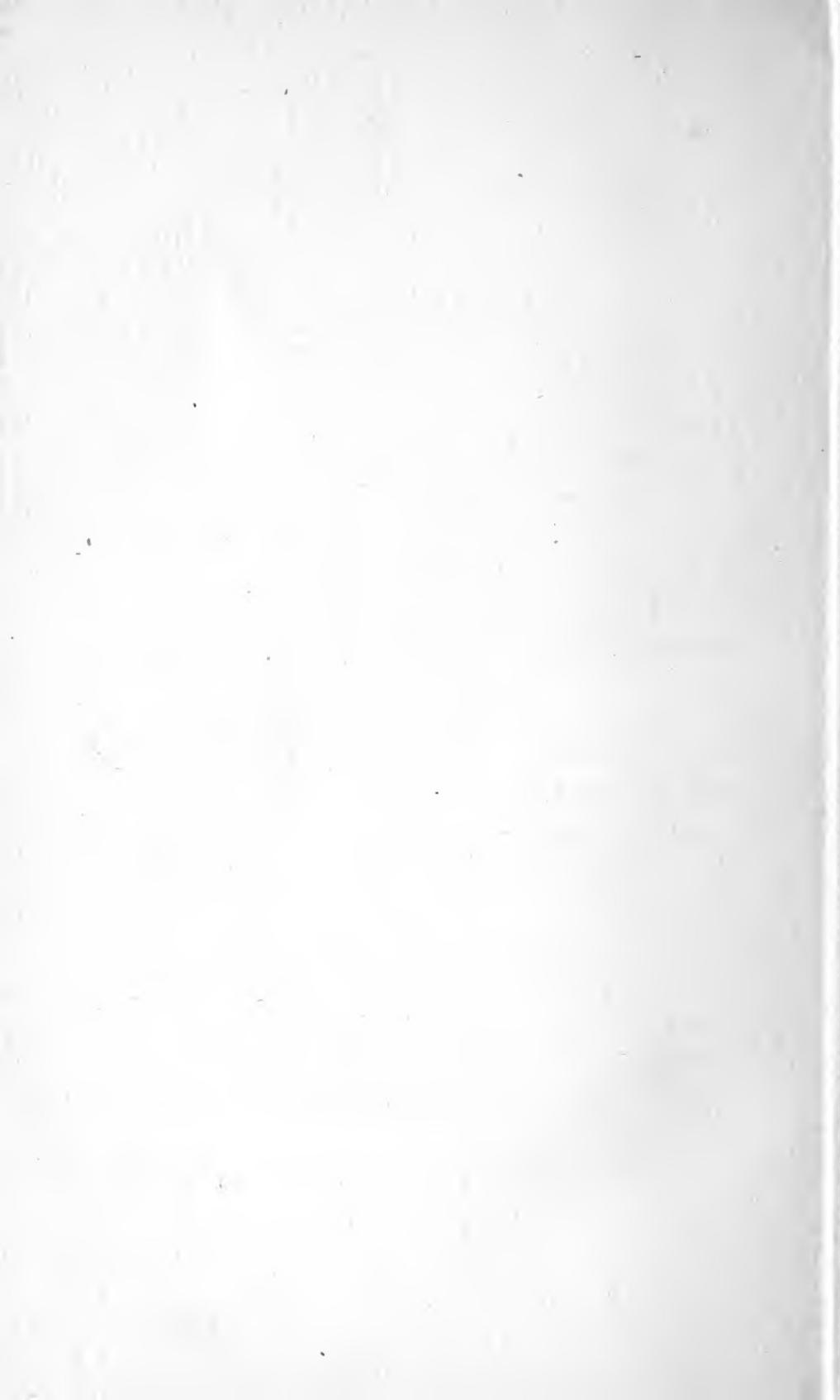
Second, the function of sex is largely a race and evolutionary matter. Using the language of teleology, we may say that nature originated sex in order that individuals might become more variable. This has been a distinct advantage for securing a more rapid evolution of life forms, since the greater variety of strains there are to cross, the greater the variety of forms there are for the working of natural selection. It may also serve advantageously to men and women now who intelligently choose life mates. By understanding the nature of reproduction, a more valid, or at least a less debilitated and diseased type of offspring, and hence human stock, may be secured.

Third, we find that the sexes are different in their natures. They have human nature in common, but the fact of their physiological differences relative to reproduction has a consequence for them, physically and psychically. Each sex has been differentiated for a specific reproductive purpose. This, in turn, has affected their de-

sires and center of interest in life. Since the woman is more intimately associated with the offspring, her interests in life and her division of labor more immediately center in them. This does not mean that she is inferior to man, because her particular function, her greatest purpose in life, is as important as any that man may attempt. Man's dominance in the affairs of the world and over woman has made it appear that he is innately superior. But it is probable that woman's exclusion from world affairs, her lack of practice in and development relative to them, are sufficient explanations of her backwardness.

Fourth, it has been seen that there have been almost innumerable theories as to how the sex of offspring is determined. We found reason for rejecting Geddes' and Thomson's theory that nutrition chiefly accounts for sex, because more recent investigations point to another solution of the problem. It is inevitable that the results recently gained by cytologists should be accepted, since they are so amply substantiated by different kinds of evidence. It may be accepted as a scientific fact that sex is determined in the fertilized ovum by the sex determinants carried by the combining sperm and ovum. This means that external influences and all sorts of artifice are powerless to decide the results. Briefly stated,

the X chromosomes decide the issue. If a sperm which contains no X chromosome fertilizes an egg—X chromosomes being constituents of all eggs—the issue will be male; but if it contains such chromosome, the issue will be female. So far as human artifice extends, it appears to be a mere chance whether the one or the other kind of combination will occur.



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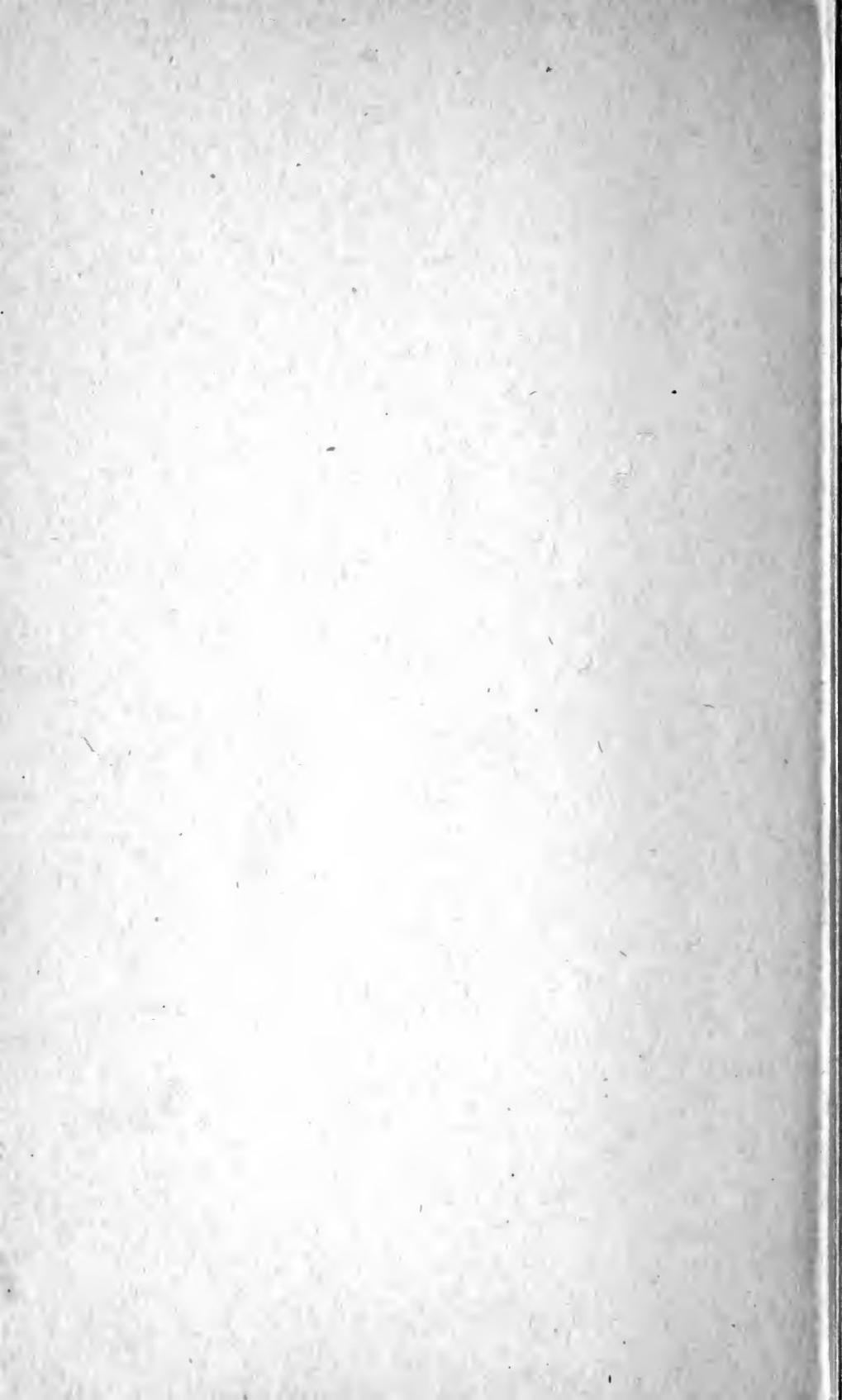
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